

2012

Constructing "Us": The new roles of an American university in international development

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Constructing “Us”: The new roles of an American university in international development

by
Katey L. Fardelmann.

A Thesis
Presented to the Graduate and Research Committee
of Lehigh University
in Candidacy for the Degree of
Master of Arts
in
Comparative and International Education

Lehigh University
May 2012

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2012

This thesis is accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements of Master of Arts in Comparative and International Education, College of Education, Lehigh University.

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Abstract

This paper investigates the professionalization and institutionalization of international development discourses at an American university that teaches and engages in “international development.” By employing post-colonial and post-modern theories, this study acknowledges the existence of a development discourse permeated by power relationships and social constructs and the role higher education institutions have in shaping the future “experts” of international development. Students, both undergraduate and graduate, who have either engaged in development projects through Lehigh University or have studied international development, were interviewed to understand students’ dominant ideas and ideologies about international development. Interview transcripts were coded for dominant themes. Academic curriculum (course syllabi) and extra-curricular materials (mission statements and club constitutions) were analyzed for similarities and differences and dominant themes identified through a comparative study. Insights from interviews were then used to examine whether and how academic curriculum or extra-curricular activity have influenced students’ understanding of their role in international development. This research suggests that students are encouraged by the University to play a hybrid-role of student and international development expert. In this research students encourage the University to provide international development experiences but are increasingly uneasy in regards to the hybrid-roles of student and international development expert they are required to play.

During my graduate studies at Lehigh University, I engaged in a practicum, a curricular course offered by Lehigh, with the specific aim of using an international space (in this case Ghana) for experimenting with social change initiatives; according to the course syllabi, “in this course students will learn how to affect meaningful social change in poor countries by developing a proposal to create a sustainable project/organization that achieves poverty alleviation or meets other social needs.” The minute I arrived in the Ajumaku Village in Ghana, where we were working, I felt uncomfortable, not because I felt that I was somehow different, but uncomfortable as a result of the reverence and expectations the people in the village held for the “abroni” (“white man” in Fante). The expectation was clear; we were meant to have brought something, whether it was simply a piece of candy or something more significant like money for a micro-finance loan or knowledge for a new developmental plan. Over the course of the trip, I began to wonder if using villages and villagers for learning “international developmental” through experimentation was ethical. There is a power relationship that exists between Western and non-Western countries as a result of history and the current political and economic environment. With no serious intentions of returning to the village or of implementing any projects which we might design, I was struck by the way in which, even as a student, I was perpetuating misunderstandings and power relationships between a Western foreigner and local villagers. I signed up for a course about social entrepreneurship not fully understanding the implications. I left that trip with a feeling of guilt, not because I was a Westerner visiting another country, but because of what I represented. Even though I was only a student, to the villager I represented either another failed development project and lost hope or an opportunity for change; either way my mere presence stimulated an emotional reaction from the villagers which I was unprepared for. I make these claims based on my experiences communicating with

the villagers. A powerful example was when myself and two other students were walking down the street and a villager walked up to us and asked for money; when we responded that we did not have any, the villager gave us a disgusted look, shook his head, and stated that we were liars. Similarly, the principal of the vocational school we were working with was uninterested in discussing alternative agricultural practices stating that we could best help by buying a tractor for the school and donating money despite our insistence that we did not have the finances to make such a contribution. These examples made it clear to me that our intentions and expectations, that we would conduct research and provide solutions and that the community would be interested in participating, and the villagers' expectations, that we would provide immediate material or financial compensation for participation, did not align. An additional example is, every meeting we held required that the participants be provided with financial compensation often referred to as "T&T," for time and transportation, which hindered the voluntary nature of our research and clouded the responses of participants.

Addressing these reactions meant attempting to find answers to difficult questions, the most powerful of which regarded the role universities play in the creation and reinforcement of dominant development discourses and whether university courses in development produce scholars, eventual experts, who are complacent to the human realities of development work. This research is an attempt to reflect on these questions and to make both educators and students more aware of and engaged in the real life impacts of mixing education and development.

In the past several decades a variety of work has been published pertaining to what is being called the "post-colonial theory." There is great debate surrounding the meaning of the term "post-colonial;" many scholars fear that the term does not truly capture the current era and could actually be sending the message that the effects of colonialism are over (Loomba, 2005;

McClintock, 1992; Hall, 1996). Despite the nuances of the term, this paper embraces the many facets of post-colonial theory to help build an understanding of the knowledge/power relationships which are pertinent to today's educational environment. I contend that the construction of colonialism is not vastly different than the construction of "development." Development will be defined in this paper as the process through which underdeveloped peoples and nations are transitioned from economically, politically, and socially backward to a progressive, industrialized, and liberated state. While the terminology with which individuals attempt to describe the relationship between the Western world and the "former" colonial territories has changed, the justifications for interventions remain relatively the same.

In addition to post-colonial theory, I use post-modern theory to argue that scholars, under the guise of international development are actually engaging in the social construction and professionalization of dominant development discourses. One of the major underlying messages of post-modern theory is the power which can be achieved through language and information asymmetry, the power achieved by those who get to define truth, "reality", and the power achieved by those who construct ideology which is eventually accepted latent knowledge. Scholars/experts, defined as "person(s) who creates and transmits knowledge [but also] a part of the process of developing and spreading knowledge" (Zachariah, 1979), are seen as sources of such power and *legitimate* knowledge. In the field of development, scholars engage in an exercise to produce theories which translate into solutions to (world) problems. The "uneducated" or "underdeveloped" voices are placed outside of the educated field while "experts and planners scientifically ascertain social requirements" to apply to the "underdeveloped" (Foucault, 1982).

Scholars propagate an “ideology of perfectibility” central to scientific knowledge production (Welch, 2000). “It is through the action of this network that people and organizations [become] bound to specific cycles of cultural and economic production and through which certain behaviors and rationalities are promoted” (Escobar, 1995, 46). Viewing development discourse - which supports international aid programs - as socially constructed, calls into question the ethical and moral role higher education institutions play in defining “social need” and promoting the “public good.” This in turn begs the question of whether students are truly engaged in an indoctrination of Western development philosophy which reinforces relations of power or whether students are being equipped to actively engage the development discourse as they transition from student/scholar to experts in international organizations, NGOs, or other policy positions. While this research does not answer this question directly, the insights gained from interviewing students on international development and comparing curricular and extra-curricular activities may allow for recommendations regarding the expectations for student learning in international development, how to balance dominant with progressive discourses, and ways in which students may more actively engage with the development discourse.

Research on the relationship between knowledge production, power, and universities concludes that universities cannot adapt quickly enough to discourses due to their path-dependent character. Therefore, despite the increasing impact that work like Arturo Escobar’s have on the field, universities are slower to acknowledge the possible relevance of such work. For universities, learning the “new-new thing,” in this case incorporating post-modern and post-colonial learning into international development studies, is a complicated process. Considering that universities are supposed to be ‘core institutions’ in the ‘knowledge society’ this possesses a problem for a field, like international development, which has an immediate impact on human

lives (Kreucken, 2003). There is little evidence to date of universities' success in accommodating the scale and unprecedented pace of change in the Knowledge Economy (Williams, 2007). The power of knowledge in crossing the boundaries between universities and industry affects the identification, use, and transmission of knowledge which are not easily predicted or defined...knowledge has shifted from an internalist perspective relying on the prestige of the epistemic communities towards socially relevant assumptions resting within social contexts (Kogan, 2005). For these reasons, I believe that the university is an excellent place of departure for research regarding the relationship between knowledge and power and the social construction of knowledge.

I fear that students and scholars alike may become complicit when it comes to international development and lose sight of the fact that knowledge is not merely produced and professionalized at universities, but universities are increasingly part of the systems of institutionalization of international development, which include NGOs and international organizations.

Research Questions: How have students' ideas about "international development" and their role in international development been shaped by their academic curriculum, including assigned readings, and structured experiences, or extra-curricular experience? How do students' view their own personal role in international development? How do students' view the role of the university in international development?

This study recognizes the existence of a socially constructed "development discourse" and seeks to understand the mechanisms through which development discourse is dispersed through an American university for mass consumption. As a student at Lehigh University, along with my fellow students, I am a player in the world of knowledge construction; this research

allows me, my fellow students, as well as educators to more broadly reflect on our own education and encourage understanding of the world that does not perpetuate unbalanced privilege. As Memmi (1965) says in *Colonizer and Colonized*: “if colonization [development] destroys the colonized [underdeveloped], it also rots the colonizer [developer];” the goal of universities, as I understand, it is to enrich rather than wither their students (xvii). Using the words of Said (1978), I investigate the ways in which the population of “us,” students of development, is constructed.

My focus is on official curricula and extra-curricular activities at Lehigh University which engage in the teaching of development and which design international trips with missions for service learning or learning about development. Considering my relationship with Lehigh University, my undergraduate degree in International Relations from Lehigh and my concentration in International Relations and Politics during my Master’s Candidacy at Lehigh, I believe Lehigh is a unique platform for this research. Official Lehigh courses that are relevant to this research include courses taught on development and modernity in the fields of international relations, comparative and international education, and international engineering. Lehigh programs relevant to this research include any curricular or extra-curricular activity which teaches or engages in development studies or articulates an international social agenda

The aim of this research is to better understand the role that higher education institutions play in shaping the future “experts” in international development by examining experiences of undergraduate and graduate student who have either engaged in international development projects or are studying international development at Lehigh University. Following interviews with students, professors, and staff engaged in international development activities, I will review materials, lectures, projects, and other documentation presented by either teachers or facilitators

and obtain insight into how teachers' backgrounds, program design, selection of required readings, and curricular vs. extracurricular activities influence students' understanding of their role in international development. Through this research we can gain insight into how an "expert" is created and legitimized at an American university and begin to anticipate how the field of international development will reflect the ideas and ideologies of budding international development "experts."

Origins of International Development

In order to understand the dominant discourse within the development field, we must first recognize the historical context in which the field of international development arose. There are several places where this discussion could begin; some would see the beginnings of the colonial period as the first attempts at "development," more commonly called "civilizing," while others might contend that international development has its origins in the Post-World War II era (Escobar, 1995). While acknowledging those who argue development began with the growth of Western empires which engaged in the practice of "civilizing" the "uncivil" natives (Memmi, 1965), for the purposes of this research, which targets the *field* of international development, the origins of international development will be seen as Post-World War II, with the growth of official state international aid policies, the establishment of international organizations, like the United Nations and UNESCO, and the spread of non-governmental organizations across borders. Additionally, it was during this post-World War II era when the field of international relations and development studies, which focused on the economic and political prospects for the Third World, became a credible discipline in universities around the world.

The philosophical grounding for the acceptance of international development within Western society is based in the rational and reasoned thinking of the Enlightenment. The

Enlightenment oriented human thought toward the future; made the individual a player or an agent of change in time as opposed to a simple object in an unalterable and uncontrollable world governed by ‘God’ or some other spiritual entity. “European and North American Enlightenments’ cosmopolitanism embodied a particular cultural thesis about individuality as ‘an actor’ whose reason and rationality (science) can intervene in the conduct of daily life and society in the name of *human progress*” (emphasis added) (Popkewitz, 2010, 18). Human progress and individual agency inspired recognition of diversity and difference, instilling fear amongst people who thrived under the hope of human progress and evolution (Popkewitz, 2010). Difference became a threat that was controlled and harnessed during the colonial period and a disease to be cured during the era of development; the Enlightenment began the search for prescriptions to human difference (Friedrich, 2009; Wittrock, 2000). The logic of the Enlightenment allowed for the emergence of the field of development in the Post-World War II era.

When the realities of the horrors of WW-II were revealed to the general population the Western world reeled vowing to never again commit such atrocities and to never again sit idle while others committed crimes against humanity. In an attempt to save or reconcile human complacency during the war, nations began to pledge themselves to international organizations meant to monitor and maintain the peace, specifically to prevent a third world war (UN Charter). The aftermath from World War II also saw the growth of socialist policies, based on the reading of Marx, which articulated the inequalities and abuses seen in World War II and offered a possible prescription. This movement took root in the Soviet communist states or the Eastern bloc. Despite the best intentions of the post-WW-II leaders the original vigor for “world peace” was replaced by the tensions of the Cold War, and international organizations became a pawn in

the power struggle between East and West. Actions stalemated in international organizations while the battle for the non-aligned territories began. Nations, international organizations, and individuals alike, fearing the power of the world superpowers and each with their own agenda, turned to non-aligned territories, vulnerable to intervention, as an outlet. All recognized a difference between themselves and the underdeveloped, “backward” post-colonial territories and felt an obligation to aid the poor individuals who lacked the benefits of a communist or capitalist society. Failing to recognize power relationships and the hierarchical structure European and American society constructed, saving the underdeveloped became the mission of individuals, nations, and international organizations alike; to save the “other” through development (Said, 1978; Escobar, 1995). “Development” embraced elements of the Enlightenment and Western worldview, which consists “of a chain of ideas, terms, and images, including *freedom, welfare, rights, sovereignty, representation*, and the master term *democracy*” (Appadurai, 1996, 423) and became the token term for the relationship between developed and underdeveloped nations and peoples.¹

¹ This discussion should also acknowledge the historical race and gender aspects which has allowed for international development discourse. George Frederickson (2002) in *Racism: A Short History* notes that racism was for years based on what he refers to as “scientific or biological racism,” the belief that ethnic groups are genetically different or inferior. Science has since proven this to be incorrect, apologists for racism recognizes that difference is not based in physical difference; this acceptance of new scientific information was mainly the guilt from historical events, most especially the Holocaust which resulted in the fall of almost all “racist regimes” (p. 1-8). Frederickson argues that rather than the end of racism when biological racism was disproven the apologist simply replaced physical difference with “cultural racism.” Frederickson (2002) points specifically to the period of “de-colonialization” as the transition from physical differences for racism to “separate development” paths based on culture for racism. A sense of deep difference is all that is necessary for racism to thrive; this is in turn directly sustains a racial order or racial hierarchy. To specifically quote Frederick, “My theory or conception of racism, therefore, has two different components: *difference* and *power*. It originates from a mindset that regards “them” as different from “us” in ways that are permanent and unbridgeable. This sense of difference provides a motive or rationale for using our power advantage to treat the ethnoracial Other in ways that we would regard as cruel or unjust if applied to members of our own group” (p. 9). Frederickson notes that modern racism is unique in that today racism thrives under the guise of “presumed human equality.” Similar arguments are made by Derrick Bell (1992) in *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism* in which he argues that it is understood today that racism is simply a historical discussion however in reality racism thrives and continues to create a hierarchy of race. In *Contract and Domination*, Carole Pateman and Charles Wade Mills (2007) addresses feminism and racism looking at the patriarchal, racial, and imperial structures that have shaped the modern world. Like

As we enter what some have termed the “era of globalization,” there is increased emphasis on what Popkewitz (2009) calls “hybridization.” “Hybridization” is the process by which individuals reach to the past while absorbing current world events in an effort to construct self. Students at American universities react to post-WW-II and Cold War eras while simultaneously affronted by world events which are today part of daily conversation, for example the Rwanda genocide, the tsunami in Thailand, the War in Iraq, or the earthquake in Haiti. All of these external forces are impacting students who are simultaneously attempting to construct a personal “self” which reflects their understanding of their interests and responsibilities in regards to their role as national, and increasingly, global citizens (Anderson, 2005; Popkewitz, 2009; Masemann and Welch, 1997). It is this hybrid role-playing that begins the search for legitimate knowledge and allows for students to embrace development discourse.

“Science” & International Development

Research in the field of international development has been dominated by a scientific, quantitative approach in which human beings are boiled down to statistics, targeted numbers, and economic and financial figures. Examples of this can be seen in the Millennium Development Goals as well as the Human Development Index. Scientific development is not a human project but a rational numbers project. The “uneducated” or “underdeveloped” voices are placed outside of the educated field while “experts and planners scientifically ascertain social requirements” to apply to the “underdeveloped.” International organizations codify and provide prescriptions for the problems legitimated through scientific scholarship (Escobar 1995; Moody 2008). The

Frederickson and Bell, Pateman and Mills acknowledge the historically white women and nonwhite were inferior to white men, second-class citizens or outside citizenship. They also acknowledge “the difficulty of writing about sexual and racial power today, especially in rich countries, is that it exists in a context of formal equality, codified civil freedoms, and antidiscrimination legislation” (p. 2). Any racism today is seen as a relic of the past rather than a normalized social contract.

“ideology of perfectibility” is central to scientific knowledge production (Welch 2000). Scholars like Harold Noah champion the scientific approach arguing that objective knowledge “get[s] rid of names of countries and substitute[s] as much as you can the names of variables” (*Comparatively Speaking*, 2010). The Western Enlightenment ideas on scientific knowledge, a space for objective and therefore superior knowledge production, work under the guise that science identifies “truth” (Escobar 1995). The role of the university in the perpetuation of scientific knowledge production and the entrance of the university into scientific production for international development is discussed further below (“Teaching and Learning Development”).

Critiques of Science in International Development

Those who are wary of the effects of the scientific approach to development argue that:

Science is the way discourse is “professionalized” and “power [is] exercised; less through brute force and more through the practices by which knowledge (the rules of reason) structures the field of possible action and inscribes the principles of performance and modes of subjectification. (Popkewitz, 2000)

While science would claim that objectiveness is a more human approach to data collection, a 1975 study by Regan and Totten observed that even when individuals attempt to consider a problem from an alternative perspective they assign the same attributes to the targets that they would have assigned to themselves. This indicates that individuals, even when attempting to see the world through different eyes, maintain their own values systems; a “self-target overlap” (Galinsky and Moskowitz, 2000). Post-modernism would argue that even science is biased in its creation of “truth” and post-colonial scholarship would argue that science is merely a means by which hegemonic powers de-humanize in order to pursue their own agendas unconstrained by guilt.

There is extensive literature articulating and analyzing both post-modern and post-colonial theory; however for the purposes of this literature review, which focuses on the origins of development, development discourse, and the role of universities, we will narrow the scope to include works from the fields of international development and comparative and international education.

Post-Colonialism

Post-colonial theory is relevant to this research for two purposes. The first is that the term post-colonial represents a transition point from a period of colonialism to a period of development. The second is the question of whether there is actually a difference between the period of colonialism and the beginning of development. This latter point is an extremely relevant question in regards to the way humans, especially students in American universities, construct and interpret the state of the world and their roles. Post-colonial theory embraces this question of transition, drawing on aspects of post-modernism, as a theoretical movement which mirrored the social movements, including post-colonial studies, of the Post-World War II era, in a search for answers to complex social, political, and economic questions (Popkewitz, 2009).

While there are multiple definitions of post-colonialism there are several key elements which characterize discussions of post-colonialism. Post-colonial literature addresses the creation of a “subject,” an object of study, through the process of “dehumanization” or “infantalization.” This process is accomplished through labeling or grouping which create “anonymous collectivities” and the de-legitimation of local practices, i.e. language which is deeply connected to identity. Albert Memmi’s *The Colonizer and The Colonized* (1965) and Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978) offer detailed accounts of the ways in which the Western

world elevated themselves to the role of the “colonizer” and relegated the non-Western world to the “colonized;” the ways in which individuals went about creating an “us” vs. an “other.”

A second characteristic is the creation of dependency through forced re-structuring of economic, social/cultural, and political systems. Through the process of development, traditional cultures and values and political and economic systems were circumvented. While imperialism implies political rule, neo-imperialism recognizes that direct rule is not the only way to control as long as the territories have an economic and social dependency which keeps them aligned with the Western powers (Loomba, 2005; McClintock, 1992). This is why many scholars fear that the term “post-colonial” implies an actual leaving behind of the colonial political and ideological rule, when in the contemporary sense colonialism remains through the justification of “development.” In the creation of dependency, people themselves become mere tools of policy makers or revolutionary leaders. Fanon acknowledges the transformational elements of colonialism/development when he says, “proof of success lies in a social fabric which had been changed inside out” (1961, 1).

A final characteristic is the failure to consider the occupants of the developing territories. In the process of development there is what Dhareshwar describes as the “doubling of modernity,” in which each individual, developed and underdeveloped alike, is a subject of modernization (development) forces but each practices in separate ways (1995). The “doubling of modernity” is something Fanon struggles with in *The Wretched of the Earth*; “we were men at his expense; he becomes a man at ours. Another man: a man of higher quality” (1961, lvii). Development undermines the possibility of self-determination because of the forced choices each individual must make; the cultural adaptation and assimilation required to survive becomes the norm when it previously would have been seen by the “underdeveloped” as abnormal. There are

clearly limits to what is possible for the “subject” population; the answer is either an identity crisis marked by dualism or ambivalence which reinforces the developers’ feelings of superiority; “we will ultimately find ourselves before a counter-mythology. The negative myth thrust on him by the colonizer (developer) is succeeded by a positive myth about himself suggested by the colonized (underdeveloped)...” (Memmi, 1965, 139; Spivak, 1988).

What is essential to retain about post-colonial theory is that ““Post-Colonial Studies’ enable us to focus on the slippages and processes of translations as discourses are re-articulated in contexts different from which they were originally produced” (Popkewitz, 2009, 272).

Post-Modernism

Drawing on post-structuralism and de-constructionist practices, post-modernism is seen to reject the idea that language, or discourse, is representative of reality; rather, discourse is a type of reality which is constructed as a result of life experience. Discourse is the way in which human beings attempt to make sense out of a chaotic world. Theorizing on rationality suggests that only one true rational thought process can exist; all else is irrational and, therefore, demands intervention from rational beings (Escobar, 1995). What is neglected in the theorizing of rationality is that “to be rational” is turned from a subjective process into an objective or normative process of understanding. This means that rationality limits the social space in which development experts and scholars can function and make rational choices (Welch, 2000). Solutions based on rationality and logic fosters “cultural essentialism,” an understanding that the causes of problems are to be found within a society and are not the result of outside forces. (Grillo, 2003). Post-structural/modern theorist would argue that it is an understanding and acceptance of the notion of rationality that developers use to create development discourse and problematize the world. Therefore all knowledge is distorted by historical events and the

environment in which the knowledge arises; Popkewitz (1999), while not fully embracing “post-modernism,” argues “for a political theory of education that takes knowledge as a field of cultural practice and cultural production” (Bertens, 1995, 262). In the context of this paper, we seek to understand the discursive space which arises and influences students’ educational identities in regards to development in the environment of a university.

Since under post-modernist theory educational identities are constructed, all works that claim neutrality are in fact a representation of a particular ideological perspective from which the agent has been constructed or socialized (Popkewitz, 1999). Foucault introduces the concept of power structures which undermine claims to objective knowledge (1979). Essentially, discourse and knowledge are inseparable from power; Foucault’s work acknowledges the existence of a hierarchy or hegemony within society challenging institutions which claim to represent the dominant discourses within society. Those who engage in development work (knowingly or unknowingly) impose foreign belief structures on individuals through “international aid,” supposedly freeing people from a cycle of oppression but in actuality forcing assimilation into the dominant societal (capitalist/democratic) structure. Escobar recognizes this as “planners (who) take their practice as a true description of reality, uninfluenced by their own relation to the reality” (1995) and Popkewitz notes that “it is common... for the heroes of progress to be foreigners who are immortalized in the reform efforts” (2000). Foucault refers to this as the “freedom-power” combination in which individuals struggle for self-freedom by conforming to and adhering to self-control and assimilation; along with this is a relationship with “truth... a structural, instrumental, and ontological condition for establishing the individual as a moderate subject leading a life of moderation” (1985). Time must be considered as disconnected from “a linear, developmental pattern.” (Foucault, 1979; Larsen, 2010). Post-modernist recognize the

“Other” as opposed to “Us,” (indicated in the title) as a privileged class. Throughout the 1980s post-modernism became used increasingly across disciplines encouraging people to believe we lived in a post-modern world, however, as Berten states, “It’s not the world that is post-modern, here, it is the perspective from which that world is seen that is postmodern” (1995, 9).

What is crucial to glean from this short representation of “post-modernism” in regards to this research is the failure of the conceptualization of objective knowledge; representations do not reflect reality but actually create reality. Again, it is the goal of this research to understand the perspectives from which students who study and engage in development at an American university see the world and their subsequent roles within it. It is the role of students and scholars alike to question dominant discourses within a field in order to understand the creation of reality. Are students at American universities blindly accepting the dominant discourse on development or does there exist a critical eye which challenges the future of development?

Development Discourse

This research acknowledges the existence of an international development discourse, a socially constructed understanding of development, which is professionalized and institutionalized at universities through both courses and extra-curricular activities available to students. Understanding the prevalence of development discourse in an American university is the target of this paper. Therefore, it is essential to define and explore the concept of development discourse. Development discourse stems from two theoretical frames, post-modernism and post-colonialism.

The study of international development can be classified under what Larson (2010) has called “strategic foresight” or “future studies” which attempts to “envision possible, probable, and *preferable* futures” (emphasis added) (5). Cowen (2002) argues that visions of the future are

deterministic; “linear solutions and linear concepts of time – time as a more or less straight arrow- are all that is offered as a basis for action” (421) for scholars and practitioners of development. The work of Arturo Escobar recognizes the static and linear process of development and claims that this approach to development is a colossal failure in the real world. Countries that have been victimized by development, he argues, are actually in a worse state than before they became part of the development project. Escobar's confusion as to the continued use of development and Western models as the "magical formula" for underdeveloped countries despite the changing international environment and the multiple examples of disconnects between the dream of development and the Third World, evolves into what Escobar terms the “development discourse”. Escobar approaches the topic of the creation of the Third World from a post-modernist and anthropological perspective emphasizing the importance of the dynamics of discourse and power in the study of culture. Escobar argues that the Western capitalist economic structure is used as the foundational structure for modernity and development which results in the discovery of "poverty" and the creation of client groups who must be saved, such as peasants, women, and the environment. Development is the process through which the Third World was created ("Made"), not the process through which the Third World was assisted. Therefore, Escobar claims, as a result of development's failures and the rising voices of opposition, development can also go through the process of change or destruction ("Un-Making") which would dislodge development discourse from its superior position amongst those who study and engage in development.

While Escobar, as well as myself, refer to the construction of development through discourse and power hierarchies as “development discourse,” Popkewitz conceptualizes this construction under the term “cosmopolitanism.” Western cosmopolitanism, like development discourse, finds

its roots in the scientific/rational thought process of the Enlightenment and is the learned process of inclusion and exclusion resulting from fears of difference. "...Optimism is a comparative system of reason that enunciates and divides the child who holds the emancipatory future from those feared as threatening the promise of progress" (Popkewitz, 2010, 21). Differentiating resulted in the identification of threats to ways of life which were perceived to be superior, sitting on top of the hierarchical life structure; in this case Western or European values (Ranciere, 1981). "Cosmopolitanism demarcated difference;" certain populations and ways of life were to be placed outside of the "commonsense of 'reason'" and targeted for civilizing movements.

Teaching and Learning "Development"

While acknowledging that the university is not the only space in which development discourse is created and sustained, it is the interest of this paper to research the extent to which the space of the university is used, as a societal and political tool, for the professionalization and institutionalization of development discourse. A pertinent aspect of this research is considering how the development discourse is transferred between teacher and student and then how the student translates this information to fit within their own personal context; considering individual agency in this process is essential to understanding how big an impact the university is actually playing in framing the mindset of the individual student.

Universities as Spaces for Knowledge Professionalization

"The school has historically played a pivotal role in the construction of ...the principles which individuals construct subjectivities" (Popkewitz, 2009, 266).

As stated by Horace Mann (1867), "the hope of education was to bring civilization to the child through developing a general amelioration of habits, and those purer pleasures which flow

from a cultivation of the higher sentiments, which constitute the spirit of human welfare, and enhance a thousand fold the worth of all temporal possessions...” (7). The school is supposed to be a neutral zone in which neutral information or legitimate information is passed from teacher to students. However, every agent, the nation, the school, the teacher, and the student, possess their own agenda or mission defined for them by their social environment. For example, “...certain global (and international) discourses overlay national educational practices to produce narratives and images of the individual who acts and participates (Popkewitz, 2009, 263); “the professional teacher participates with the community and the child in order to reconstruct the society” (Hargreaves, 1993). “The social sciences and “helping” professions, including teaching, linked the governing patterns of the cultural and social life of the individual with the governing patterns of the state” (Popkewitz, 2010; Cosin, 1972). If development discourse is socially constructed as argued above based on post-modern and post-colonial theory and education is socially embedded as argued by Popkewitz, it is inevitable that development discourse would find a place in Western educational institutions.

The influence of social forces on universities was even more prevalent in the international development field in the Post-World War II era as federal and international funding was given to universities to conduct development research. This funding allowed universities to expand their departments which focused on development studies but also guided the type of research which was produced within this field. In order to receive funding, scholars adapted their work to fit inside the development mold; a model which focused on the sciences for the creation of objective indicators of developmental success. A strong example of the dominance of international development and funding concerns is the field of Comparative and International Education. International organizations in the 1960s and 1970s turned to CIE for assistance after

determining that education is a powerful weapon in the fight to find “solutions” to world problems. Reminiscing on this period in the history of CIE Farrell (2010), who himself worked for the World Bank, recognized that:

the whole generation of young scholars trained under Ford Foundation money in national defense education in the 60s, were Third World specialists, did field work or Peace Corp in the developing world and were the new “Young Turks” in the field...; Cummings (2010) has a similar remembrance,

needless to say we got into the time of the foundation period of the society and we got increasingly involved in international development and I would say a significant amount of energy of members of the society become engaged in development projects and of course that gradually led to a move from history to the development field which became heavily captured by economic paradigms... (*Comparatively Speaking*)

In America it was the inspiration of international development education and the opportunities for work with international organizations which encouraged the Comparative Education Society to change its name to the Comparative and International Education Society in 1968. Harold Noah acknowledged that in “the 60s the money came pouring in, the National Defense Education Act provided money for educational development abroad... There was much benefit both materially and from the recruitment and staffing and faculty point of view...”. Even today, scholars believe that there is money in international development; “the money appears to have dried up but there is lots of money in international development activities...” (Easton and Klees, 1992; *Comparatively Speaking*, 2010). Harold Noah and Max Eckstein used this period in education to highlight science in education. In their book “Towards a Science of Comparative Education,” Noah and Eckstein (1969) articulated the superiority of quantifiable, scientific research as opposed to qualitative research which was interpretive;

A significant strengthening of the explanatory powers of the social sciences took place after World War 1. Many governments improved the quantity and quality of their statistical series, and statistical techniques became much more sophisticated. Partly in response to these new possibilities, the social sciences came to rely more and more upon quantitative methods; and the demands of researchers stimulated the production of yet

more statistical material. This was particularly true in economics and sociology, and in later years this trend extended to political science and even to anthropology. Quantitative methods were adopted not only in the social sciences, per se, but also in some branches of education, particularly in psychology and psychometrics. In this manner, the humanistic origins of the social sciences, which accounted for their early philosophical and historical emphases, were gradually overlaid by new concerns and methods of an empirical and quantitative nature. Comparative education slowly followed the same path. Since World War II these trends have accelerated and the empirical orientation of the social sciences has begun to reshape comparative education. Contemporary cross-national study in education is thus founded upon the twin bases of vastly increased bodies of data and improved techniques in social science research. Empirical, quantitative methods in comparative education are still beset with serious difficulties, but there can be little doubt that their potential contribution to the field is so great that they will have to be reckoned with. (Noah and Eckstein, 1969, 6-7)

Despite those scholars who have questioned scientific, “determining” methods to research, such as King, Keohane, and Verba (1994), over the last few decades, with the assistance of scholars like Noah and Eckstein, scientific, “objective” research has overshadowed qualitative methods.

As Popkewitz (2009) would say, this study is a focus on the “politics of knowledge” at an American university (262) or as this research often refers to the professionalization of knowledge. The politics which surrounds the study of development determines what is seen as legitimate knowledge for the teacher to convey to the student; what knowledge is professionalized regarding international development. Understanding the prevalence of the socially constructed development discourse in an American university, socially embedded in Western cultural values and practices, is the purpose of this research. This research takes into consideration the politics of schooling, which Popkewitz defines as “the focus on the rules and standards of reason that partitions the sensible and orders sensibilities in what is talked about, ‘seen,’ and acted on. Pedagogy is political in shaping and fashioning conduct across different time/spaces about what ‘we are, should be’ and also about what is cast out and excluded from its normalized space” (Popkewitz, 2010, 16).

Transition of Knowledge from Universities to the Field – Institutionalization of International Development in Universities

There are often relationships between the professors and scholars at universities and outside institutions who hire scholars as “experts” to legitimize projects or justify action. It is rarer for students to take part in this practice of institutionalization, more specifically neo-institutionalization. Neo-institutionalism is macro-sociological and cultural theory and argues that the nation-state is increasingly embedded in world society which is standardizing individuals, communities, and nation-states; the world system is a model to be copied and adopting the universal principles of the world society means becoming part of the “imagined community” which has been legitimized by proponents of a standard world society. Neo-institutionalism recognizes a discourse on rights, justice, fairness, and achievement and an emphasis on civic duty, economic globalization/international competition, and rationality (Meyer and Ramirez, 2003; Meyer, et.al 1997; Dale, 2000). However, in the field of international development students are more and more likely to create scholarships, design projects, obtain funding, and implement projects in developing worlds. I know this from experience and from watching the evolution of the discipline of social entrepreneurship at Lehigh University.

Students as “... researchers view themselves as producing both the critique and the planning of a progressive society through the policy sciences” and view “ the project of research as a political project to “emancipate,” “liberate,” and give “voice” (Popkewitz, 2009, 264 & 293). Students are engaging with professionalized knowledge at a more active level. Where previously students were just engaging in research, today students are actively transforming knowledge into practice and using the lives and land of peoples in the “underdeveloped world” as experimental territories. Therefore universities and their students are leaving a more global imprint, the effects

of which must be considered when looking at the ways in which the roles of universities are changing and considering how the university as a space of knowledge production has shifted. Like with past colonial projects, “Colonial settings have been used as laboratories (test-sites) of the modernization of educational reform” (Larson, 2010, 8); developing settings are laboratories for development reforms.

Research on Development Discourse and Education

While there is an overwhelming amount of research on development, documenting both benefits as well as failures, the research on development discourse itself is more limited. Escobar, as a result of his conceptualization of development discourse, is engaged in research in Columbia with the aim of searching for alternatives to the dominant forms of development (Batterbury and Fernando, 2004). Another study was completed by Paul Hodge, a Research Doctorate, Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Newcastle at the time of publication, in which Hodge applied development discourse to the international aid industry in Fiji concluding that “‘doing development differently’ will involve reorienting development relations and embarking on a far-reaching mission to subvert development’s self-evidence while proposing and supporting collaborative efforts that explore negotiated and newly emerging cultural forms” (2009). There has also been an increased interest in the development discourse in the field of anthropology. Researchers perform case studies on the different activities that surround development and show an increased interest in understanding the “paradoxes and contradictions of Third World development” (Gow, 1996; Hobart, 1993).

In my investigation of the relationship between development discourse and education, I have not encountered any prior research which investigates the role of universities in professionalizing and institutionalizing development discourse. There is a great deal of research

on the role of education in the process of development, some examples are the work of Colette Chabbott in *Constructing Education for Development: International Organizations and Education for All* (2003) and Walter McMahon in *Education and Development: Measuring the Social Benefits* (1999). There is even research on how higher education in particular contexts can contribute to development, for example, Melanie Walker's research *Development Discourses: higher education and poverty reduction in South Africa* which aims to understand "the transformation of higher education in South Africa to meet the challenges of poverty reduction, economic development and social transformation in the 21st century" (2009). In a CIES keynote address Brehm and Silova (2011) consider how education is contributing to the propagation of a development discourse. Brehm and Silova (2011) acknowledge that "the mechanism of power institutionalizing the inequality of intelligence in international development are becoming increasingly refined, polished and normalized (30)... the notion of "help" has become increasingly individualized. Everyone is expected to help in one way or the other..." (33). As part of this "massification of 'help'," the university as a space is transitioning from merely research and knowledge consumption into an active player in knowledge construction and international development. The research presented in this paper is an attempt to investigate the actual relationship between an American university and the dominant discourse used to teach and learn development.

Research Methods

In order to better understand the role an American university plays in the perpetuation of development discourse I conducted a qualitative study comprised of content analysis of course syllabi and interviews with Lehigh students. The purpose was to seek answers to the following research questions: *How have students' ideas about "international development" and their role*

in international development been shaped by their academic curriculum, including professors' views, assigned readings, and structured experiences, or extra-curricular experience? How do students' view their own personal role in international development? How do students' view the role of the university in international development? To answer these research questions, I analyzed qualitative data gained from (1) interviews with students who participated in university-sponsored international development initiatives and (2) documents (syllabuses, mission statements, and Constitutions) from each university-sponsored development initiative in which the students interviewed participated

In addition to seeking answers to these questions, I identify gaps between the intended objectives and missions of each activity, based on the content analysis, and the students' acquired knowledge, based on the interviews. Having identified these gaps, I make recommendations on (1) how to fill the gaps between the intended lessons and student learning and (2) how to better balance students' understanding of dominant international development discourses with critical perspectives in international development.

Interviews

Interviews sought to obtain both a personal account of the student experience as well as the meaning behind their experiences and answers and are particularly useful in obtaining the story behind someone's experience. Face-to-face interviews allowed for follow-up questions to further investigate responses and allowed for the interviewee to record impressions and opinions (McNamara, 1999). This study employed the semi-structured or open-ended interview discussed in more detail below. Interviews were conducted with a total of 10 students who have taken a course geared towards development or engaged in a project, trip, club or activity which identifies development or service learning as part of their mission statement or objectives.

Participant Selection

Purposive sampling was used to target a particular subset of the Lehigh University community. Purposive sampling is a non-representative sample. Therefore, the results of the study are less likely to be generalizable to the entire population of Lehigh students (Patton, 1990). The purposive sample targeted those students (1) who met the specific criteria of having been enrolled in and completed a course on development studies or (2) students who participated in an extra-curricular initiative (activity, club, or trip) with the intention for development studies or service learning. Only those students who participated in the course or activity within the last two years were included in the study; students who participated prior to the 2010-2011 school year are more likely to have been influenced by factors external to the university and the course or activity in which they participated, and, therefore, were not included in this study.

In order to access the particular sub-set of participants relevant to this study, a call for voluntary participants was placed in the Lehigh University daily announcements as well as in department announcements which might find the results of this research of interest (for example, Comparative and International Education, International Relations, Political Science, and Global Citizenship). Flyers were also placed in strategic locations. The advertisement contained information on the purpose of the study, potential risks and benefits, the research protocol, issues of confidentiality and protection, requirements for participation, and contact information. The students were also asked to provide a syllabus or mission statement from their course or activity for document analysis.

The courses and activities at Lehigh University which qualified for this study, were both curricular and extra-curricular; however in order to maintain confidentiality and protect faculty and students, the actual courses and activities will remain anonymous. The call for participants

requested participants who have engaged in development studies or service learning projects. The participants disclosed the course or program for purposes of being classified as either a curricular or extra-curricular but the actual name of the course or activity and its connection to the particular student is confidential. The selected areas are both curricular as well as extra-curricular embracing the fact that Lehigh University provides not only in-class learning opportunities but also out-of-class learning opportunities.

Protection of Participant Rights

Since the participants contacted me or my faculty advisor (individually as a result of advertising in daily and department announcements and flyers strategically placed in relevant departments), I only received information from those students who chose to participate voluntarily. This recruitment approach avoided coercion or any undue influence. Prior to beginning any interviews and in order to ensure comprehension, full disclosure, and that students received adequate information, participants were provided with a written informed consent form (Appendix A), which outlined the purpose of the study, explained the rights of each participant, the criteria for inclusion/exclusion, the potential benefits and risks, the research protocol, and contact information. All participants signed the informed consent form in order to participate. While the students' responses were documented and recorded, their names would never appear alongside their responses. Participants were also made aware that their participation was voluntary, that they could choose not to answer any questions, and that they could conclude or withdraw from the interviews at any point in time. All responses that the participants provided during the interviews were stored on a password secured computer or in a locked office and were destroyed once the study is concluded.

Research Site - Lehigh University

Due to the fact that Lehigh University publicly acknowledges their mission to engage in international activity, I believe that the benefits of naming Lehigh as the location of my research outweigh any potential risks. This research relates specifically to the Lehigh University's goals and values as stated in the *Lehigh University Strategic Plan*:

We will guide Lehigh's drive to be a premier residential research university through the following strategic areas of investment where what we do has a significant *impact on the world* and our students' ability to compete in that world: Globalization, Energy, environment, and infrastructure, and Health.... Both basic and applied research contributes to Lehigh's capacity to address *grand challenges*. Lehigh's structure, culture, and core strengths are ideally suited to this venture. One of Lehigh's great attributes is its *translation of fundamental understanding and discoveries into practical use for the benefit of society*. In many other cases, Lehigh's faculty, staff, and students have worked *to make the world a better place*, and Lehigh is noted for *bringing concepts from theory to practice*. (emphasis added).

Lehigh actively engages in advertising the international impact of the University and its students in addressing international issues such as, providing safe drinking water, earning a living in a developing nation, fighting international pandemics, offering children positive images of the future, attempting to solve the conflict in Turkey, and natural disasters in Japan (Appendix C). Lehigh's Office of International Affairs is part of the internationalizing plan, as highlighted in their mission statement: "To further globalize Lehigh's mission of advancing learning through the integration of teaching, research and service to others through a systematic and sustained engagement between the Lehigh Community and the World-At-Large." Similarly, the Global Union's mission statement is: "to provide an international experience to every student, faculty, and staff member on campus through interactive educational, cultural, and social programming." Additionally, Lehigh is one of few major universities in the nation to have an undergraduate department devoted exclusively to International Relations and is only the sixth university in the world to be a DPI-NGO of the United Nations through the LU/UN Partnership. Finally in 2011

Lehigh launched Iacocca International Internships which aim to provide international work experience for students in hopes of developing Lehigh students into “global leaders.” Lehigh’s president Alice Gast says that “the new Iacocca international internships *will combine global education with practical real-world internships*” (emphasis added). These examples clearly demonstrate Lehigh’s commitment to not only teaching about international issues but also to engaging in the translation of education into real-world solutions and opportunities. Due to this international commitment, the results of this research on students’ understanding of international development and the university’s role in international development could significantly benefit not only students and teachers who design courses and activities but faculty, administrators, and staff who design and embrace Lehigh’s international mission.

Keeping Lehigh anonymous would mean eliminated a major benefit of this study, providing Lehigh faculty, staff, and students with feedback and recommendations on curricular and extra-curricular international development initiatives. Therefore, after careful consideration of the risks and benefits, I have decided that it is essential, as a result of the importance of the knowledge gained, to disclose the name of the university where this research is being conducted.

Content Analysis

In addition to interviews with students, a comparative content analysis of the course syllabi, club mission statements, and club Constitutions was conducted in order to identify similarities and differences in stated objectives. Findings from comparative content analysis are discussed in the context of the dominant literature on development discourse presented in the literature review to understand the theoretical underpinnings of different courses. Ultimately, content analysis of the documentation from each initiative (course, club, or trip) explores

whether the material presented to the students problematizes the dominant literature or whether it conveys the “best practices” in the field of development.

Comparative research is used when researchers are attempting to analyze the commonalities and differences between societies. Comparative study is a tool for developing classifications of phenomena and establishing whether shared phenomena can be explained by the same causes (Hantrais, 1995). In the context of this study, I compared the documentation from different courses and activities to identify commonalities and differences in objectives and establish whether any phenomena identified was a result of development discourse.

Data Collection

Interviews

The interviews were semi-structured or open-ended in nature, which means that the questions for the interviews were pre-arranged to ensure all areas of interest were covered. However, since the questions were open-ended, there was space allowed for the interviewer to probe for further clarification or allow for tangents which were relevant to the research. By using broad guidelines the interviews were more cohesive and easier to compare but allowed for some divergence which gave the data a greater depth (Weiss, 1994; McNamara, 1999). The questions guiding these interviews can be found in Appendix B.

Pilot Interviews

Prior to conducting interviews for inclusion in this research, I conducted several pilot interviews. These interviews had a dual purpose. Firstly, the pilot interviews allowed for the questions themselves to be tested ensuring that the questions were clearly articulated and did not lead the participants. Secondly, the pilot interviews allowed me to hone my skills as the research practitioner, understand the types of responses the questions invoked, and request feedback

which improved my personal delivery of the questions. Pilot interviews were conducted with individuals who fit the parameters of the study, including individuals who have a background in development studies or service learning. Pilot interviews were conducted with two people who were enrolled in an international development course but had not yet completed the course excluding them from my research.

Official Interviews

The aim of the interviews was to document students' definitions and characterizations of development, as well as students' understanding of how development is accomplished, their motivations for enrollment or participation, and their views on the university's and their own role in the development process. The interviews were recorded and transcribed. Notes were also taken during the interviews as a secondary source. As mentioned above, interviews were conducted with 10 students, four students with an international development-oriented curricular activity and six with an experience in an extra-curricular.

Student Participant	Curricular or Extra-Curricular Activity
P1	Extra-Curricular
P2	Extra-Curricular
P3	Extra-Curricular
P4	Extra-Curricular
P5	Extra-Curricular
P6	Extra-Curricular
P7	Curricular
P8	Curricular

P9	Curricular
P10	Curricular

Table 1: Participant Chart – Curricular or Extra-Curricular

Content Analysis

Each student who volunteered for an interview was asked to provide documentation relevant to the curricular or extra-curricular in which they participated. The students chose which documents they felt represented their activity and brought the documentation with them to the interview. I only included those documents in the content analysis which were provided by the students interviewed which limited analysis to documents the students felt were relevant.

Data Analysis

Interviews

Once interviews were conducted, they were transcribed. These transcriptions were uploaded to a computer program called Atlas.ti, which has the capability to code texts by identifying themes. The computer program assisted in the open coding process which is the process of considering the transcriptions in detail and developing some initial categories or themes. As more and more data was analyzed and themes became repetitive, I moved to a more selective coding, which is systematic coding, with respect to core concepts. This process of coding is based in grounded theory developed by Glaser and Strauss in the 1960s, which describes a research process that begins with generative questions that guide research, moving to the data analysis where core theoretical concepts emerge and are linked to the data that eventually translates into one or a few core concepts or themes (Trochim, 2006). Through coding I was able to identify common themes in students' answers. While the themes changed throughout the coding process, the goal

was to identify themes which were common amongst students in their understanding of development, the universities role in development, and their personal role in development.

Content Analysis

The content of the documentation provided by the participants, course syllabi, mission statements, and club constitutions, were similarly coded for themes and compared, like the transcripts, to the dominant literature on development discourse. The approach to this research was to identify objectives and goals which critiqued (or encouraged critiques of development) or promoted “best practices.”

Limitations

Because this research was voluntary the participant selection was limited to those students who were interested in the research or in participating and were willing to sign the consent forms. Additionally, research was limited to those students who live in the Bethlehem area and could meet with the interviewer in person for the interview. However, these limitations proved to not significantly hinder the recruitment of participants. Should the study have included more participants from a particular curricular or extra-curricular activity, the results may have been skewed towards one particular student experience; however the participants came from four separate courses and four separate extra-curricular activities eliminating this concern. Finally, while during the interviews I re-phrased participants’ responses to make sure that my interpretation reflected the true meaning of their words, further triangulation of responses proved problematic. Participants were to remain anonymous and names were never coordinated with their responses so following-up with the participants at a later-date was impossible.

Findings

In the following section the findings of this study will be presented. The section begins with the findings from the comparative study of the syllabi, mission statements, and club constitutions written by faculty and administrators for the curricular and extra-curricular international development initiatives participated in by the students interviewed. The comparative study provides background and a framework for the second set of findings from interviews with participants in curricular and extra-curricular international development initiatives at Lehigh University. The findings from interviews respond to the research questions posed regarding students' ideas and ideologies on international development and students' perceptions of their role and the University's role in international development.

Comparative Study – Syllabi, Mission Statements, and Club Constitutions

All of the curricular courses taken by this study's participants aimed to translate theory or "best practice" on international development (based on social entrepreneurship or development theory) into practical on-the-ground experience. While not all courses required an international trip, at the very least, students were to design prescriptive solutions for social problems to be implemented on-the-ground at a later date. The similarity between curricular and extra-curricular experiences, translating theory into practice, can be seen immediately in the institutional documents (syllabi, mission statements, and club constitutions) compared here. This similarity is reflected in the student interviews below and, ultimately, results in very little difference identified between students who participated in curricular and extra-curricular activities (further analyzed in "Discussion" below).

Course descriptions outline the following goals and objectives (emphasis added):

“The role education plays in the **economic development** of a country...Begin to understand the challenges and responsibilities of **social entrepreneurship**”

“Learn the **best practices**, successes and failures, opportunities and constraints in the field of **social entrepreneurship**; Increase their understanding of the processes and problems in launching new **international development programs** and organizations, by integrating the insights of the **entrepreneurship literature** and **development theory**; Acquire the tools and conceptual framework to launch a new social venture through a **real-world learning experience**.”

“Examine **development processes in poor countries**, focusing on the causes of and solutions to widespread **poverty**... *descriptive: what* developmental processes and trends are underway in the nation...the emphasis will shift to *explanatory* questions: *why* is development proceeding as it is? ...our focus will be directed as well toward *prescriptive* issues: *how* can specific problems be solved?”

“Examine the politics and economics of relations between **developed** and **less-developed** countries, focusing on **the development problems of poor countries**.

“Understand (by means of service learning in this course) **the importance of global impact through local interactions** within the surrounding community.”

When discussing development, almost all of the curricular courses place an emphasis on economic factors or social entrepreneurship, which is based on business theories. Only one course seeks to better understand global impacts through local interaction rather than provide a prescriptive, scientific solution. Focusing on economic factors as a means for international development eliminates the social science/humanities aspects to development, which consider cultural, social, and ethical implications of international development. The social aspects of development are “messy,” less quantifiable than the science of economics, which can provide “objective” indicators for a country’s or community’s progress from underdeveloped to developed. As articulated in the above literature review, a focus on the sciences (in this case economic sciences) turns development into a game of rational numbers rather than the art of human relations. In the course descriptions reviewed for this study, humans are consistently

replaced by economic variables, which have the potential to de-humanize the practice of development and mask the human implications of international development efforts.

The goals and objectives for extra-curricular initiatives, as articulated in mission statements, were similar to the curricular objectives. However, they focused more on the practical experience, including research, project design and planning, and implementation. The following are the articulated missions of several of the extra-curricular activities in which interviewed students participated (emphasis added):

“...to catalyze and connect student-athletes who are passionate about **social change** and to **implement social change projects** on a local, national, and international level.”

“...to encourage, support, and implement environmentally and economically sustainable technical projects in **developing communities** nationally and internationally, while educating globally responsible and knowledgeable students.”

“...the opportunity to **conduct ongoing field work**, where students will work with the NGO on teacher training, curriculum development, and community outreach initiatives... a complete, **immersive experience** for our graduate students. They are not learning from a distance, but living through important **international development issues**.”

“...the students engage in **service projects** and cross-cultural **experiential learning opportunities**.”

A comparison of goals and objectives of curricular and extra-curricular activities reveals that there are commonalities in the use of particular terms and phrases including: “international development,” “service,” “social” and “learning experiences.” However, none of these terms are explicitly defined anywhere in the syllabi or in any other materials presented to potential participants. Therefore, their intentions and relation to international development are left open for interpretation by the reader as well as the students who participate. With only the goals and objectives and mission statements as a reference, it is difficult to judge whether the students’

responses and interpretations of international development reflected the true intentions of the professors and administrators offering the curricular and extra-curricular opportunities.

Additionally, the comparison of goals and objections revealed that there is no mention of the target population in the goals, objectives, and mission statements other than to create change in different communities. The opportunities focus on the student as the main stakeholder in these activities. While this is not surprising in a university setting, it is important to critically reflect on such a strong emphasis on the student. As argued in post-colonial theory, the failure of “us” to recognize the “other” as a stakeholder in the international development process is common and it seems to be inherent in the reviewed documents. The discursive spaces in this study have been limited to the perspectives of the teacher and the student, who have, as mentioned above in “Objectives”, de-personalized the target population. The target population is no longer important because “cultural essentialism,” the idea that problems are to be found within a society rather than as a result of outside forces, rules the discursive space. The target population’s voice is eliminated, what is important in this context is how the student can change or improve their society.

While in one case the teacher did assign a Reflection Paper to her students, it was open-ended and requested simply feedback on what was learned, what was not learned, and what the student would take away from the course. In a second case, the teacher included a space for in class discussion on the challenges and responsibilities of social entrepreneurship. There appeared to be no structured occasions for students to reflect as a group on their experience or to reflect on their experience with the administrators and faculty who designed the course or extra-curricular. While this may have happened it was not an immediate objective or goal as stated in the Course Syllabi or Constitutions and mission statements. This indicates that the majority of

reflection provided in the student interviews were a result of their own personal reflection on their experiences offered by the University.

Criteria for Participation/Membership

In the case of participant selection for curricular and extra-curricular activities, I was interested to see whether there were criteria for student participation and, more specifically, criteria for those students who went on international trips. Given that these are the students who would interact with the community and who would design projects for implementation, the criterion for participation is something that I deemed important. Students with previous knowledge of the country or community with which Lehigh University proposed to work might provide insight into the particular economic, political, and, most especially, cultural/social context of the host community. Knowledge might include speaking the local language, having lived in the country or community for an extended period of time, or having conducted extensive research in a particular country or region. Criteria for participant selection could also include prior international development experience. On the one hand, someone with experience may offer suggestions based on past successes or failures or they may bring a biased, close-minded perspective. On the other hand, someone without experience may offer a fresh eye and a new perspective or their lack of experience may result in a naivety that hinders the relationships between Lehigh University and the community. Taking these thoughts into consideration, I was interested to see where faculty and administrators fell in regards to who qualified to engage in international development.

The results of this investigation suggest that in most cases, especially in the case of Lehigh University clubs, membership was open to all students in good standing at the University

and who believed in the policies and principles articulated in the Constitution or in the Course Syllabus. This meant that there were no required knowledge criteria (whether in terms of language or specific content area) for student participation. For one club, a student merely had to be able to pay in order to go on the trip and participate in field work. However, in one case, the course being offered was exclusive to students in a particular academic program; and in another case, the course was offered only to students who had taken two pre-requisite courses which were meant to prepare the student for field work and project design and implementation. However, exceptions were often made when classes were at low capacity. The pre-requisites were implemented by the individual instructor rather than the University and, therefore, needed only the instructor's permission to be overridden.

In the case of one of the extra-curricular activity, students who wanted to participate were required to submit applications and resumes. However, the program administrators explained that this process was due to the limited space in the program. Nevertheless, this does not eliminate the possibility that this process most likely resulted in a group of students with a higher commitment level and greater knowledge. Finally, one club was open to all students; however, the students who actually were able to travel had to be approved by Faculty Advisors and voted on by the club. The criteria by which the selection was made and the reason for the voting process was not articulated in the Constitution.

Final Product of Course or Extra- Curricular Activities

All curricular and extra-curricular activities included in this research had two final product goals, the first one focusing on designing a project, an operational plan, or a deliverable to be implemented in a “developing” community, and the second one focusing on providing

opportunities for the student to learn through real life experience. Examples of final deliverables include the following:

The culminating product will be a development plan designed to achieve real progress in solving the poverty and development problems of the chosen country. The oral and written presentation of that development plan will be directed toward an actual funding agency in which the team will seek to convince an important actor – a head of state, World Bank official, foreign aid staffer, NGO director, or multinational corporation executive, for example – that the development plan should be adopted and resources expended in pursuit of it.

Operational Plan Final Paper: The primary output for this class is operational plans for curriculum. These operational plans the necessary resources, labor, facilities, third-party relationships, quality assurance measures, financial investments and timelines. These documents will be passed to future courses and serve both as a policy guide and a practical tool to influence future curriculum development.

The goal of creating a final deliverable clearly represents the extent to which the student would be involved in the translation of theoretical knowledge into real-world practice. While looking at the objectives above we considered the theories which were professionalized in the classroom. Analyzing the final deliverables of the course, transitions the educational space from one of professionalization to one of institutionalization. This is an example of how the educational space at the University has changed and, therefore, how the University's influence on the students' educational identities has changed. Student, through their education space, construct and interpret their roles, responsibilities, and conduct across space and time. By introducing students to the field of international development through the design of final deliverables, students are becoming part of the power structure which not only describes reality but creates reality. Students become part of the re-structuring process which circumvents traditional cultural, value, political, and economic structures. Students are meant to play a hybrid-role of student as well as expert. Do students blindly embrace this role established for them through curricular and extra-curricular initiatives? What have students learned from their

real-life experience? Answers to these questions can be found below in interviews with students from these courses and extra-curricular initiatives.

Interviews

After conducting 10 interviews with students at Lehigh University who engaged in curricular or extra-curricular international development activities, I was able to identify several recurring themes. In order to fully answer each research question, this section will be structured around the research questions and major themes will be identified for each. Themes for the first research question - *How have students' ideas about "international development" and their role in international development been shaped by their academic curriculum, including assigned readings, and structured experiences, or extra-curricular experience* - focus on students' motivation for participation and students' ideas about the purpose of international development as a result of their experiences at Lehigh. In response to the second question - *How do students' view their own personal role in international development?* - findings focused on student perceptions of their roles and capabilities in international relations as well as students' perceptions of their relationship with the community. Finally, in response to the last question - *How do students' view the role of the university in international development?* - the findings highlight, students' perceptions about the role of the university in the institutionalization of international development as opposed to the university's role in the professionalization of international development.

Students' Motivation Understanding student motivation is helpful due to the fact that it is reflective of how students view the purpose of international development and their own subsequent roles in international development. Student motivation helps to answer the first research question about how students' ideas and ideology have been shaped by the curricular and

extra-curricular experiences. The main themes include (1) the idea of “helping” others and (2) learning by doing.

“Helping” Others

When asked about their motivation to enroll in a curricular or an extra-curricular activity at Lehigh University, nine out of ten students, were encouraged by the idea that international development was “helping” their target populations. To quote the students themselves, one student responded: “**Helping** them whether that be providing tools to do something, education, finance...to develop in a sense of helping themselves, like helping them to help themselves.” (P3). Another student explained: “I am fortunate enough to be able to come and study here and have all these resources and experiences and I need to put it to use, I have to put it to use; we should try to **help out** whenever we can” (P1). Similarly, another participant responded: “I guess some people when they **need help** they won’t ask for it and then some people when they need help they will always ask for it. To recognize somebody who is really having a hard time and really doing something nice for them and **helping to make their transition easier**” (P4). A comparable reaction was amongst students motivated by the idea that international development was essentially community service on an international level; “I have always been drawn to **community service and volunteering**. So, I have done it my whole life, I have always done community service at home... then the opportunity came, an NGO sent an e-mail asking if I was interested in doing community service on a global span” (P5). Students’ motivation to “help” is reflective of the goals and objectives outlined for them in the course syllabi and mission statements; the institutional documentation encourages the student to see their role as “helper” or “saver.” The fact that the student identifies similar motivation to “help” in their statements indicates that these students identify with the path already outlined for them by University.

Learning by Doing

Part of this research was to better understand the transition Lehigh University is making from merely the professionalization of knowledge to the institutionalization of knowledge. From the interviews with students, it is actually the opportunity to apply theoretical concepts learned in a classroom to real life situations that motivated them to participate in international development experiences. One student explained: *“it was really intriguing to think that **they were actually coming up with something and putting it to practical use**”* (P5). A second student articulated: *“Working on a project that was work and not just class... I really like the idea that they had come to Lehigh, not necessarily our college at first, but they wanted academic input, research input. I didn’t really know that much about educational development so **it was kind of interesting that there was a way to learn while doing**”* (P2).

Four out of ten students articulated that “learning while doing” factored into their decision to enroll in or participate in a curricular or extra-curricular activity targeting international development. While this is not the majority of participants, it is important to note that some students, even prior to signing up for a Lehigh University program, were intrigued by the idea that they would be able to apply theory into practice. Those students who were motivated by the practical aspects of the course believed it would make their time at the University more interesting, that they could enhance their resumes, or completely lacked knowledge on the subject but believed the experience would broaden their horizons. One student who was from, what she identified as a “Third World” country, was motivated by the possibility of bringing the experience back to her home country; *“for one of my courses we tried to come up with a solution...I was 100% for it especially because we were analyzing my country so I was like absolutely, 100% I will go home and work on whatever we come up with...”* (P1).

Students' Understanding of the Purpose of International Development Students'

understanding of international development has been influenced by their curricular and extra-curricular experiences, most especially the international trips that nine out of ten participants had the opportunity to take as a result of a university-offered course or university-sponsored program/club. Student understanding of the purpose of international development helps to answer the first research question about how students' ideas and ideology have been shaped by the curricular and extra-curricular experiences. According to the students, the purpose of international development is to (1) Provide Hope, (2) Create Sustainable Change, and (3) Provide Opportunities But Not Impose Change.

Provide Hope

Three out of ten participants thought that one purpose of international projects was to create hope and provide the target population with, not only a better life, but with future opportunities: *"We gave them the motive, education, for more years than we can even think of, just because that building there is going to facilitate the education. So to me that was pretty much what we were able to give to them. As well as you know that week, we played with them, we gave them smiles, together I think we fostered that lasting experience for both of us."* Another student also commented: *"...it is the only way for them to have an opportunity to choose their life. So most of them grow up...their family is in this profession and that is where they will stay and I think a lot of them realize that if they want to do something other than what they were born to do in their family then they need an education to do that... it is a way to **gain opportunities** and I think that is the main thing for them. They can actually choose what they will do with their life other than being just told"* (P6). My interpretation of these students' reflections on the purpose of development is similar to what Dhareshwar (1995) referred to as the "doubling of modernity,"

where both stakeholders are altered by development but in different ways. The developer is attempting to elevate their being by living a life of compassion and understanding and is, as Popkewitz (2000) was quoted above, becoming an “immortalized foreigner” in the reform effort. The developed are provided with opportunities and hope that they too might one day be elevated beings. While every single participant may have had good intentions when they entered into international development work, I would argue that, based on these students’ responses, they have completely “bought into” development discourse.

Sustainable Development

Three out of ten students believed that one aspect of development was to not only create change, but to create change on a sustainable level. The definition of “sustainability” for these students was to initiate a project that would be brought to the community, taught to the community, and sustained by the community once the students left. While these students did not reflect the concept of “double modernity” as strongly as those students quoted above, these students did reflect the concept of “cultural essentialism,” which indicates that they too have “bought into” development discourse. One student explained: *“I hope that a development project would eventually increase the standard of living of the community that you are helping on a **sustainable level**. So not just increasing the standard of living for the year to come but whatever you are doing but being able to give them the knowledge or the tools to be able to continue increasing their standard of living... teaching them how to do it and how for it to eventually be sustainable without your help.”* (P3). A second student said: *“to create a sustainable project so local people can catch up and continue,”* (P8) and the third student articulated: *“the community will be 100% committed to it and sustain it when you are not there”* (P6).

Provide Opportunities But Not Impose Change

Seven out of ten participants believed that the purpose of development was to create positive change, whether to the governance/ infrastructure, health conditions, poverty levels, or general life satisfaction without imposing themselves or their personal beliefs on the target community. Essentially, the students seemed to believe they can influence change in a community without influencing the community or the community's desires. According to one student:

I think it is ...in a both a cynical but realistic way...I am trying to think of a very nice, eloquent way to say it but I don't think that that is going to happen...normalizing the rest of the world toward Western standards, with good intentions. I am very sympathetic to ...that it is kind of imperialism, it is kind of a way of dominance but I think that most people involved have good intentions. And I think that it does actually help in a real way, in as close to an objective way as possible. (P2)

Another student explained that: *"But at the same time allowing them to ...not imposing something from a different culture or a different country... it is much more complicated then like, 'hey here...you are solved'" (P1). A third student said: "If one person in the community that I go into is able to break themselves out and make a better life, what they deem a better life for themselves that would be I think the best thing that could happen. I would never say alright lets go in there and change the community but if we can go in there and help their quality of life to be better and for them to get out of it what they want to get out of it" (P5). This was echoed by another student: "If you implement something and the community isn't behind it, it is never going to work no matter what you are trying to implement. I think that a huge thing for any sort of development, 1) that it is something that the community really needs" (P6). Finally one student explained: "So it is more of like finding out, when you say this is what I have and I want to help you, I feel like that is a more selfish approach to doing any type of service because you are there*

to cater to somebody else not to solely focus on you and only what you can do because you need to know what they need” (P7).

These students acknowledge that there is international development that is imposing as well as the fact that the community is a stakeholder in the process; however, they still believe that international development is a process by which the fortunate serve the less fortunate. These students believe that development should occur but that development should not be imposing. When asked which type of development does not have intentions of “normalizing” or imposing but merely attempts to address needs of the community, most students responded by identifying their own projects as meeting the criteria: *“Or the idea that we are trying to change the beliefs of the people down there or that we are trying to modernize them. Which those stigmas are not necessarily true, well they were not true for our trip” (P5).* I would argue that these students think more critically about the impacts of international development on stakeholders other than themselves but still “buy into” the components of development which create a hierarchical structure of “us” versus the “other” and reinforces dependencies.

Perceived benefits to (or impact on) students and local communities The below is in answer to the second research question which addresses student perception of their role in international development. The main themes in regards to the way students view their roles in international development include (1) Grounding the Student Experience, (2) Concerns about Development Work/Ethics, and (3) Relationships with Local Community.

Grounding the Student Experience

Looking exclusively at the impact international development experiences have on the students, all interviewed participants expressed that they learned a great deal on their trips and several

even admitted that these experiences changed their worldviews. From the perspective of the student as a learner, these international experiences were beneficial. Students “grounded” their academic experiences in the sense that they were exposed to real life situations and were required to address these situations in one way or another. These students, rather than leaving the University, with only a theoretical basis, now have applied their theoretical knowledge to a practical situation. Additionally, students came face to face with cultural, political, and economic diversity and can claim to better understand the context of diverse situations. Another student explained:

*...for the graduate students that go it helps them **ground their experience** a little more. We are only capable of what we are capable of as graduate students and you would just hope that giving an opportunity to do research in (developing country) will help them get a better understanding of the jobs we all aspire to have and understand the responsibilities we take on in the future. (P9)*

Similarly, this was echoed by other students:

I think that since I did it my senior year not so much for me but this type of thing for a younger student could end up changing their path in life potentially if they had either a positive or negative experience I think that it could change maybe what they will do with their experience. Maybe they will change what their major is or they might start getting involved in certain things at school. (P6)

So it was very useful learning experience to hear real words, not just reading in books, but to hear another perspective. And for me I just discovered (developing country) for myself, I had never been to that country; I didn't even know where it was located. But for me it was a very rich cultural experience to be exposed to the (developing countries) culture, the sightseeing, the traditions of that community, to talk with the local people, to go to museums. It was a very good learning experience, cultural experience, learning experience. (P8)

Reflections on Development Paradigm

When the conversation turned from benefits to the students to benefits to the community or to how they believe their project was beneficial or impactful to the community, seven out of ten participants expressed concerns about student's involvement in development work. Feeling ill-

prepared and limited was a common response. Students felt that they were limited in terms of the time they had to prepare for their trip, the time they were actually on the ground and interacting with the community, and in the time they had to design and implement a solution. Students were concerned that they did not have enough contextual knowledge of the community with whom they interacted to truly understand their needs and desires. Additionally, students felt their fellow classmates, in some cases, were not committed to the projects; the main goal was to receive a grade. Finally, students expressed that they lack the knowledge on international development and the capacity, in terms of time, finances, and influence, to design and implement international development projects. Seven out of ten participants expressed concerns comparable to feeling at a disadvantage or at a limited capacity during their experience with international development. These responses included such reactions as:

***These are people's lives** you shouldn't do that, you should get the training you need first ...it is really hard to do development work when **you are not on the ground**. Like we were on the ground for ten days, which was it. We spent four months at Lehigh thousands of miles away from (country), we **couldn't have possibly known cultural contexts** besides reading dusty books in the library that couldn't possibly work...I took one development course in my four years here and four weeks into the semester I went to (country) to talk about these things.... **I would absolutely not say that I am prepared to do serious and effective development work.** (P3)*

One student expressed that: *"How could you contribute because the trips are very limited? **You are going only for 10 day, even for 2-3 months, wouldn't be enough to create a sustainable project** so local people can catch up and continue. That's questionable... So I think it is doing for doing but not doing for results sometimes"* (P8). Additionally, several of the participants did not have any curricular background which they believed limited their capacity to work effectively with their communities: *"I mean, I know a little bit about this type of thing but not as much as I would like to... 1) it would have helped me gain more from this experience **if I would have known more about how the things I was doing or wasn't doing was impacting people**"* (P6).

Finally, students, due to personal life and due to other commitments, struggle to fully commit themselves to a single project. As students they felt they were overwhelmed with the necessary time commitment for a single course while they were trying to complete the required tasks for their other courses. Additionally, students can only commit themselves to the four years they are at University (for graduate students only two years); therefore, there is little consistency and, often, multiple periods of transition as students graduate. Finally, several expressed that even those who are most committed to a project could encounter changes in their personal lives or in their academic lives which forces them to limit the time spend on this particular project. One student explained: “*We start doing it but then **their lives change**, they get married, they move to another city so it is just...they were involved in the process but this process definitely continued but didn’t really bring the real results. Again it is problematic because people, students, might take the class for six months and then forget about it*” (P8). Another student confirmed this sentiment saying: “*One thing that is a disadvantage of having students involved is that **students come and go**. Like especially the Master’s program which is only two years. There is not that much continuance ... there (is) a lot lost in the transition*” (P2). Similarly, another student explained, “*You are trying to pull together students, encourage them to take the class so they are coming into the class, they are coming in following the syllabus and curriculum but up until that point they have no specific interest in education in (developing country). They just worked on it because it was a class it was available for their Masters*” (P9). One student believed that student involvement can actually be dangerous; “*I think that students, as interested as they might be for one semester, when the semester starts ending it is more about let’s just get a grade and move on... I feel like that is just, this is not the case for all projects but I*

feel like for some of them it might be dangerous if students are not completely, 100% into it”
(P1).

The fact that such a large portion of the students interviewed expressed a concern about the role that the student plays in international development suggests the students have not blindly accepted their roles in the institutionalization of development. These responses indicate that students are struggling with their hybrid-role as student and international development expert. The courses and extra-curricular experiences which the University offers has changed the students understanding of their identity; while the University through providing these courses and extra-curricular opportunities encourages the student to see themselves in the light of a development worker or social entrepreneur and the communities in which they work see students as development experts, the students themselves seem unwilling to fully embrace this new identity. While they believe, as expressed above, in the concept of international development, they are concerned and confused about their actual participation. These concerns are expressed further in the following theme.

Relationships with the Local Communities

Given that students felt that they had a limited capacity in international development they expressed the secondary concern that the students’ presence could negatively impact future relations between Lehigh University and the target communities. Within this theme there are three sub-sets of students, those students who recognize no power relationship, those students who recognize and are frustrated by the power relationship, and those students who believe that they are actually perpetuating the power relationship. Six out of ten participants expressed frustration with the power relationship. On an even broader scale, two out of ten students

believed that their presence could negatively affect not only the relationship with Lehigh University, but could sour the relationship between the community and all future development workers. These students recognized that they carried a particular responsibility to not only Lehigh University, but to the community as well. This responsibility it seems is something that several students fear has failed or will fail.

Before looking into these students' concerns and considering why the possibility of failing is concerning it should be acknowledged that some participants felt that they had a positive relationship with the community. For example, one student explained, *"I just felt like they were comfortable with us and we felt comfortable with them and it was because we came in to the situation as trying to be part of their community not trying to help them or fix them or be better than them. I think we really tried to be on their level. I think that maybe it made the experience better for them and for us"* (P6). Another student said: *"I really think that what we did will somehow be helpful for them as well. Not only for me but they also benefited from me"* (P8). These students believed that it was possible to bridge the gap between two different communities; that there is not a power hierarchy which forces the community to accept and embrace the students and the students' projects. The relationship between the community and the students was seen by these students as equal; the students benefited the community as much as the community benefited them. Whether or not this is how the community felt about the students' presence is difficult to say. Either these students have not considered that there is a power relationship in which they were viewed by the community as superior or these students recognized there was a power dynamic and managed to break through that barrier and communicate with the community on an equal playing field. Considering the theory behind

development discourse, the latter would be an amazing feat in the short amount of time the students' spent abroad.

There were other students (six out of ten as mentioned above) who were not as confident about their relationship with the community. These participants recognized that there was an unfortunate power dynamic, between them and the community, in which undue respect and privilege were granted to the students. One student explained *"Some of it was kind of sad to hear about how admired our students were for no reason other than they were white students from America, which was **disheartening**"* (P2). The fact that the student saw the relationship as "disheartening" demonstrates that prior to leaving, the student had little understanding of the power dynamics in play in development discourse. However, it is heartening that the student observed and critically reflected on the relationship and seemed to desire a different power dynamic. Another student supported this strain of thought:

*It kind of had that **overbearing feel** of we are bringing this program to you and, 'here you go', rather than working together with the people you are trying to help and listening to what they need first and foremost and then reflecting on what you can do for them and then empowering them rather than creating these programs and then, I don't want to say forcibly because that is a strong word but **imposing on them** during those ten days and being like, " alright this is what needs to happen because we are financing you. (P3)*

Again, this student recognized an uneven relationship in which the student had the power to implement any desired project without the community's consent. Still a third student articulated that the structure of the course was actually perpetuating an uneven relationship, in which the students focus on their own tasks excluding the community:

*I do not feel we are making a huge impact because... I feel that they (administrators) are pushing for more like a learning process, you are going to make research, and don't worry about like... just concentrate on your own ideas, your own interests, and concentrate you research around it. I feel that **is not about community needs** maybe it is about something different. That is why I have my doubts about our contribution to it... I*

*learned all these challenges but **I don't know if it was useful, really useful for them... I feel we are benefiting more.** (P8)*

It seems the student felt that she was actually being encouraged to turn the community simply into a variable which could be studied as a way for the student to learn how to conduct research. Still other students went even further than simply recognizing that there was an unequal dynamic between the students and the community and actually expressed the belief that the students were harming the communities. One student explained: *"At first I was like this is awesome, like we actually get to do something, and then I thought this is dangerous. Because we, and I saw it on another trip, that we went to where we kind of just gave them **false hope** in a way"* (P1).

Another student expressed a similar sentiment: *"And then there are just so many people that you met, and connections that you made that are just left hanging ...then in the future if someone else wants to go the community will be more **hesitant to trust** anyone who comes up with a project because they will be like, "oh well last time people came and never really did anything"* (P1). A third student stated:

...it is important to note that it is not just your community or country that you are representing but all development workers in general because a small village (country) is not going to perceive you as a Lehigh student any different than a Swedish person coming in to do the same things. To them it is the same people coming in to do the same things and failing at the same things. You are not just representing America, you are representing either the developed world or whatever you want to call it. (P3)

While I am not completely comfortable with the phrase "false-hope" I believe that that participant was suggesting that not only did a power relationship exist but they were perpetuating the power dynamics by using the communities as places for experimentation and feeling little need to follow through on suggested projects.

University Roles The final research question regarding how students perceive the University's role in international development is addressed in this section. For the most part students felt that

the university should support the efforts of students to learn and engage in international development as well as provide opportunities to teach and reach out to others regarding their experience upon their return. Students felt that the role of the university should be to provide resources, whether funding or faculty, for international development initiatives. Essentially, the role of the university should be to support the student role in international development in whatever way necessary. Five out of ten students also expressed that the university should help students hold conferences or publish and distribute papers on student experiences. These students believed it was important to share their experiences with others and to encourage other students to join in the international development effort. One student explained:

I think that the university just really needs to foster this international mindset in the students and really encourage them to get involved and take action and not just be passive about it. I think that the university through its classes, programs, and extra-curricular activities...they need to be able to help students gain many different perspectives on the international issues. And show them different opportunities that they can get themselves involved in and really make a difference. (P4)

There were only two participants who were concerned about the transition the university was making into the institutionalization of international development. The first concern was in regards to the university's encouragement of independent social entrepreneurship project, which allows students to pursue international development with little to no oversight from faculty and administration. This places the entire responsibility in the hands of the student, who as we saw above is struggling with their dual role as student and international development expert:

I think rather than randomly handing out grants to people who are doing development work after a five minute presentation and a one page proposal, you should be reinvesting those funds in existing programs already established development programs where you can get that mentorship and apprenticeship that you need rather than just going out and doing things on your own in some random country where you think you are making a difference but in actuality you only have one semester of knowledge on the matter. (P3)

The second concern addressed power dynamic concerns between a university and a “developing” community. While many people see the university as a space where neutral knowledge is reproduced this student recognized that even the University possesses a prestige which opens door for a particular sub-set of people which are closed for others. As a student from a University in the Western world, the student indicated they were provided with greater access to resources in the “developing country” than this country’s own citizens. As one student explained:

I think the general concept is that universities, educational settings are seen as ethical, moral, compliant. They might not always do things that are those things but they always aspire towards them. So they are given this kind of ...prestige. Anytime a university, especially the more reputable ones, they are given like this complete freedom... Just an example like us, this partnership is a complete power dynamic. Literally we just get off the plane and the next day we are walking around schools and in classrooms and talking to kids and even though we have gone through IRB approval here in the US and things like that I absolutely think that there is an element like that where it is invasive. (P9)

Discussion

Based on the interviews I conducted, it was evident that most of the students who had participated in international development sponsored by Lehigh University were critically reflecting on their experiences. Students recognize that there is a possibility of international development negatively impacting the communities in which they work; however, they did not see all development as the reproduction of a socially constructed discourse. All students believed that the projects on which they worked were not replicating power dynamics but were helping the communities in much the same way as community service on a local level. Only one student acknowledged that the popular definition of development could be a coded discourse:

Capitalism, market economy, democracy, all things that are, they have their benefits but then they also have their cons and it (development) does so in a way that doesn’t really admit that there are alternatives...the popular claim is that what is there before capitalism and democracy is not different, it is something primitive, it is further back on a linear path that has no deviation so to impose democracy, to impose the market is not to change what they have but is to push them along where they would go anyway...and I

think that is short-sighted and I think that we should question it...So I think that when you talk about corruption often times that is code for “they do it different than us,” or democracy, “they do it different than us” which you know I don’t think Cuba is very democratic but somehow they still get by.... (P2)

While most students did not view their projects as perpetuating power dynamics, the majority did seem to feel that their own personal roles, as a student, could be problematic for development. As articulated in the findings students were critical of their capacity in international development. Students were concerned that the students’ benefited more than the community, that students were often not committed which could result in failed projects and a lack of trust between not only Lehigh students and the community but between the community and all development workers created problems for future relations. Finally, students expressed discontent with the fact that communities in which they worked saw them as having superior knowledge and capabilities. Interestingly enough, students still supported the concept of development and encouraged the university to continue providing international opportunities but seemed concerned with their roles in the development process.

Curricular vs. Extra-Curricular Experiences – Did students with theoretical background from a curricular experience articulate different ideas than those students with only practical experience and little theoretical background?

In this research I was looking to identify whether students’ understanding of development would be different when comparing curricular and extra-curricular experiences. Based on my findings, I have concluded that the responses given by each student group were not markedly different. Both groups identified their most impactful experience as being their abroad experience (minus the participant who did not actually travel abroad), both groups believed in the development projects they were implementing, and both groups identified parts of their experiences as problematic. Interestingly, the limitations which students in curricular

experiences articulated were slightly different than the limitations expressed by the extra-curricular students. Students from a curricular experience focused on their lack of time with regards to both the structure of a single semester course and the limited commitment of students focused on their grades whereas students from extra-curricular experiences more often articulated that their limitations were knowledge based and felt that the experience could have been enhanced with a curricular background. One of the reasons that there was little difference in student responses, as mentioned above in the comparison of institutional documents, is because there was very limited structured reflection in either the classroom or the extra-curricular setting. While the students did not explicitly comment on the lack of structured reflection, as the interviewer I noticed that when asked specific questions regarding how to define international development, how they characterized a developed country, or how they perceived their relationship with the community, the students required time to answer, sometimes even saying “that is a difficult question,” indicating they had never reflected on these concepts prior to that moment. Additionally, in some cases students interviewed for curricular experiences were also involved in extra-curricular activities and two students who were interviewed for curricular experiences actually enrolled after participating in an extra-curricular experience as a translator and project manager. It seemed that the world of curricular and extra-curricular international development activities at Lehigh are intertwined which could have resulted in similar responses.

Recommendations: Reconciling the Students’ Role in International Development:

Rather than provide my own recommendations independent of the students’ interviewed, I will provide recommendations based on students’ responses and experiences. I believe it is important to include the thoughts of students’ who voluntarily offered recommendations as a

result of problems they identified (articulated above under “Student Roles” and “University Roles”).

1. **Projects need more oversight as well as better follow-up on the university level.** Due to the fact that students expressed uneasiness at best in their role as international development expert, it would be prudent for the University to re-evaluate the freedom they are providing students by funding social entrepreneurship ventures. While independence is empowering, it may be considered reckless to let students act out their projects on vulnerable populations in “developing countries.” While IRB does exist to protect vulnerable populations, I did not come across anything in my IRB certification that considered the power relations which exist between “developing” and “developed countries.” Additionally, I know from speaking with students that not all international development projects conducted through courses are brought before the IRB. Similarly concerned one student suggested:

We definitely provided more experience and feedback for any group that would want to travel again but maybe a certain, a project would have to go or be approved or analyzed from more ...how do I say this...it should go through...not go through a process but...it should be something concrete. More developed than my project was when we traveled because it kind of fell apart and like I mentioned before when you hit the ground everything kind of goes out the window because everything is different, like you didn't expect it to be...something to ensure follow-up, something to ensure that the students won't be like, “alright I am done” at the end of the semester. (P7)

2. **Provide Multiple Perspectives on International Development Projects.** International development crosses multiple disciplines, boundaries and borders, as well as incorporates multiple stakeholders. In a single development project one is likely to encounter political, economic, and social/cultural concerns all at once. To narrow the scope of an international development project to a singular perspective when there are so many overlapping concerns will result in incomplete analysis of need, an incomplete project,

and unforeseen implications and problems. It is in the best interest of all stakeholders, including the University which is funding these projects, to ensure that projects are not hampered by a narrow vision. As was recommended by one student:

I was doing education reform I guess and neither professor knew much about educational reform, they weren't professionals on the matter whereas with (extra-curricular activity) we have four advisors who have done development work and all come from different disciplines and all have different ideas about international development work in addition to working with the Lehigh Valley professionals who are (career) by trade and do this on the side...we work with them, we work with another firm in the area, so there are all these people who are critiquing us every step of the way and I think that is what students need if they want to do development work. (P8)

3. **Increase community involvement by maintaining a consistent presence in a small number of communities.** If Lehigh chooses to continue working in international development, the University should not spread too thin. In order to even attempt an international development project, one needs a vast knowledge of the historical, political, economic, and cultural structures as well as an understanding of how these structures shift over time. This would require a consistent presence in every community Lehigh intends to work. While this may be a little more than difficult, this would allow for consistent data collection which would result in stronger community relations and projects more in touch with community needs. One possible way for Lehigh to do this is to have students and faculty interested in international development commitment themselves to two year cycles so that turnover in the community is not excessive and there will be a supply of students with knowledge to replace those students who graduate. These are suggestions articulated by two students as well:

I think there needs to be a lot more understanding about the community you want to work with and there has to be a genuine interest on the community's part because you cannot just impose something, whatever organization the student is a part of, they need to just study a lot about everything, their culture, how they work... (P2)

I feel there should be more than one current or former student there in (country)... very active in transmitting the information, findings, and progress back to us. (P5)

Conclusion

Much like Lehigh University is at the beginning of its mission of a globalized community and international collaboration, so too are the students engaging in international development work at Lehigh University at the beginning of considering their contributions as well as their impact. While I articulated a concern for the role of a university and its students in international development based on the idea that “development” is a socially constructed discourse and that engaging in “development” is an act which perpetuates existing power dynamics between “developed” and “underdeveloped” communities, it seems that these experiences help students better understand the international community and reflect on their personal roles in international development. If students were the only stakeholders in the practice of sending students on “development missions,” I would say that the University’s role is a resounding success. However, students are not the only stakeholders in international development exercises sponsored by the University, the communities with whom the students interact are stakeholders as well. This fact is something that students have acknowledged but something that I do not see being addressed through the courses and extra-curricular activities offered at Lehigh.

As articulated in the findings, objectives and mission statements are singularly focused on economic international development and development theory which de-humanizes the community stakeholder by turning them into scientific variables. Additionally, there are little criteria for student participation indicating that understanding the target population is not a significant priority and the final deliverables for the both curricular and extra-curricular activities encourage students to engage in the institutionalization of development discourse. Finally, all

activities are designed with a single stakeholder in mind, the student. Meanwhile, several students have expressed discomfort with their new identity as international development workers despite the University's encouragement. Some students have also expressed concerns about the power dynamic relationships that exist between the students, the University, and the international communities with whom the students interact.

How might the University structure their international experiences to better serve all stakeholders? I think that the international experiences offered to students are important in encouraging students to embrace and understand diverse cultures and essential to a students' learning experience. At the same time, I think that the University needs to re-examine the ways in which these international experiences are structured. Students, concerned with the limited time they have to understand and absorb a community's culture, economic, and political structure and the limited time on the ground, recommend that the University limit their presences to a few communities and introduce a system by which there would always be a Lehigh representative in the community for communication, data collection, and progress updates. This would also address student concerns regarding souring community relations and distrust of the Lehigh student workers. Students who feel that there is a lack of commitment recommend improved oversight and follow-up at multiple levels of administration, especially for projects which fund independent social entrepreneurs. Finally, students' concerns that projects are not holistic, focusing on a narrow or singular economic perspective encourage the University to require multiple faculty members across disciplines to consult on all international development projects. The University needs to work simultaneously with their students to address the concerns expressed by students in this research and to better serve all stakeholders, students and communities alike.

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CONSENT FORM

Constructing “Us”: The new roles of an American university in international development discourse

You are invited to be in a research study about **you experience as a student of international development as an American university (Lehigh University)**. You were selected as a possible participant because **of your enrollment or participation in a university program or course which targets international development**. We ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

This study is being conducted by:

Katey Fardelmann, College of Education (Lehigh University) under the direction of Iveta Silova (Education, Lehigh University)

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?

The purpose of this study is:

The purpose of this study is to better understand the role that an American university, like Lehigh University, plays in the professionalization and institutionalization of the field of international development. I am interested to see how your experience as a student at Lehigh University has contributed to your ideas and ideologies about the field of international development.

WHAT ARE THE PROCEDURES?

If you agree to be in this study, we would ask you to do the following things:

Schedule a time to meet and discuss your ideas and ideologies about international development and your role as a student in the field of international development. This interview will take 30 minutes to 1 hour and will be audio recorded.

IS THIS STUDY CONFIDENTIAL?

Yes. The information you provide in this study will be kept confidential. Your name will not be stored alongside any of the information you provide. Your name or identifying features will never be used in any reports or publications of this study's results. To protect your confidentiality, we will keep data for this study only on secure computer systems in locked offices

WHAT ARE THE RISKS AND BENEFITS ASSOCIATED WITH PARTICIPATION?

We do not foresee any risks to you other than a possible breach of confidentiality. As outlined above, however, we take a series of precautions to protect against that risk. Benefits include a chance to express your opinions on the evolution of international development at Lehigh University and how the opportunities provided to you at Lehigh University in regards to international development was beneficial.

IS THIS STUDY VOLUNTARY?

Yes. Participation in this study is voluntary:

Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with Lehigh University. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

IF I HAVE QUESTIONS, WHO CAN I CONTACT?

The researchers conducting this study are:

Katey Fardelmann. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, **you are encouraged** to contact her at Lehigh University, 908-537-2565, kf211@lehigh.edu, kfardelmann@gmail.com. You may also contact Katey's thesis committee, Iveta Silova at 610-758-5750, ism207@lehigh.edu, Peggy Kong at 610-758-2883, pak211@lehigh.edu, or Holona Ochs at 610-758-6508, hlo209@lehigh.edu

Questions or Concerns:

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s), **you are encouraged** to contact Susan E. Disidore at (610)758-3020 (email: sus5@lehigh.edu) or Troy Boni at (610)758-2985 (email: tdb308@lehigh.edu) of Lehigh University's Office of Research and Sponsored Programs. All reports or correspondence will be kept confidential.

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent

I have read the above information. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and have my questions answered. I consent to participate in the study.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Signature of Investigator: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX B - Questionnaires

For Questionnaire – Curricular Activities

Please include the course title and course number below. Please circle whether you are a graduate or an undergraduate student. Please fill out the following questions to the best of your ability. Names are not required so all participants will remain anonymous.

Course Title:

Course Number:

Graduate Student or **Undergraduate Student**

1. What motivated you to enroll in _____ (please print course title and number)?
2. What did you learn from this course that you believe that the most important or the most impactful? Were there any specific readings, experiences, or lectures which significantly influences your experience in the course?
3. How do you define the term “development?”
 - a. How has your definition of the term “development” been altered by taking the course you listed above?
4. What characterizes a “developed country” as opposed to an “underdeveloped country?” Please provide one example of a developed country and one example of an underdeveloped country.
5. What is the purpose of development?
6. How is development achieved?
7. What do you believe is a universities role in international development?
8. What is your role as a student in international development?

Extracurricular Activities

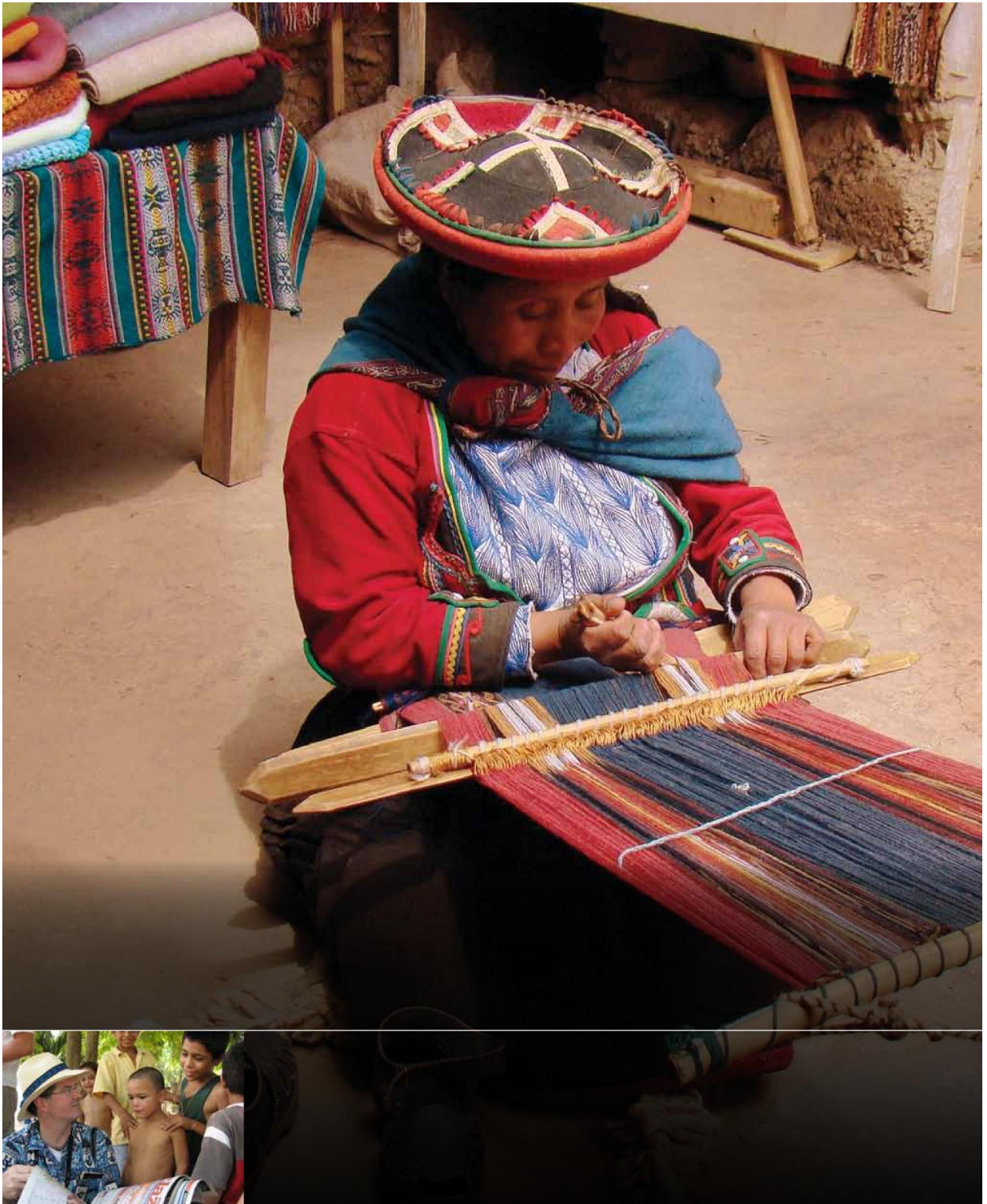
Please include the name of your club/trip/activity/project you are a participant in. Please circle whether you are a graduate or an undergraduate student. Please fill out the following questions to the best of your ability. Names are not required because all participants will remain anonymous.

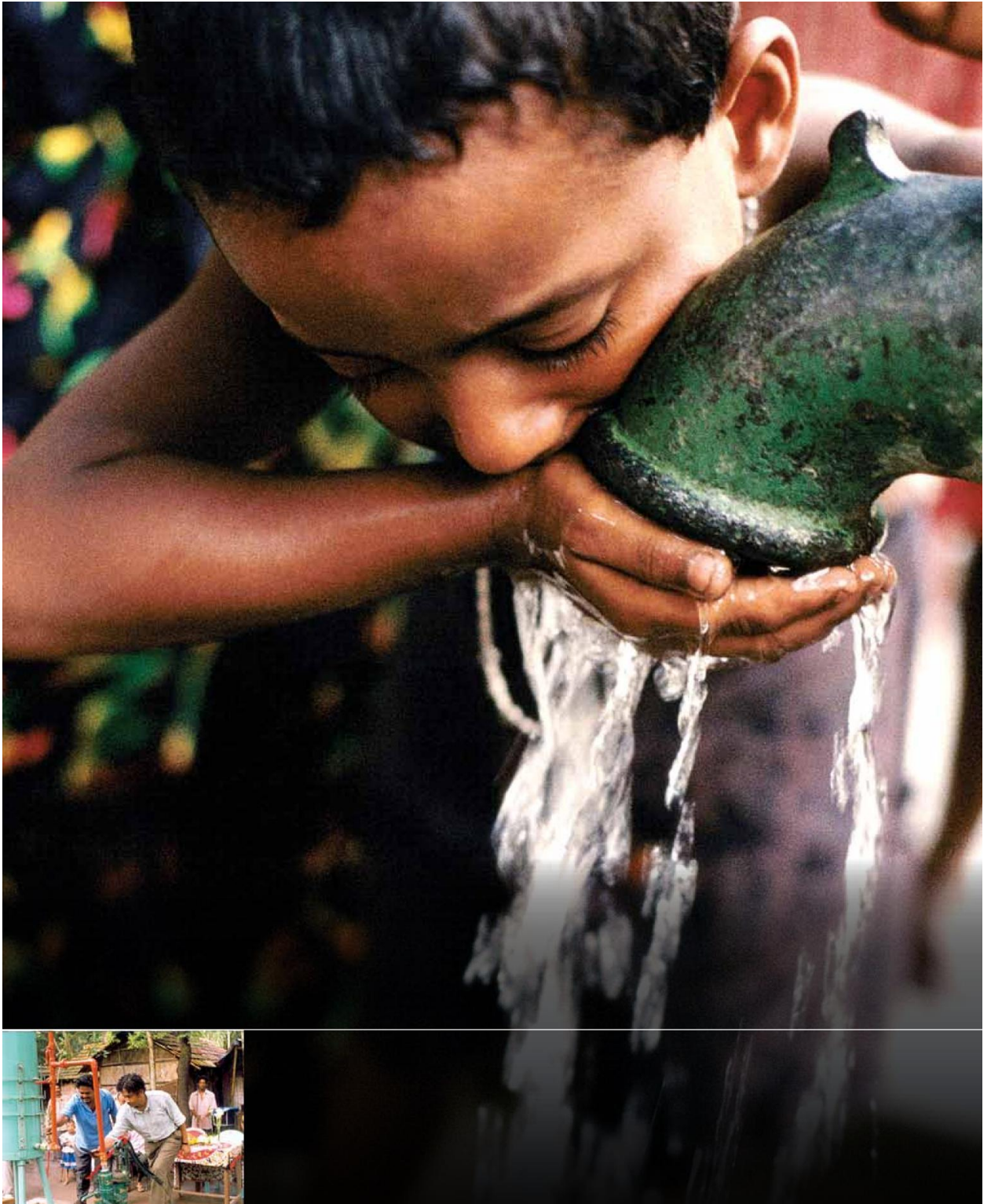
Name of Club/Trip/Activity/Project:

Graduate Student or Undergraduate Student

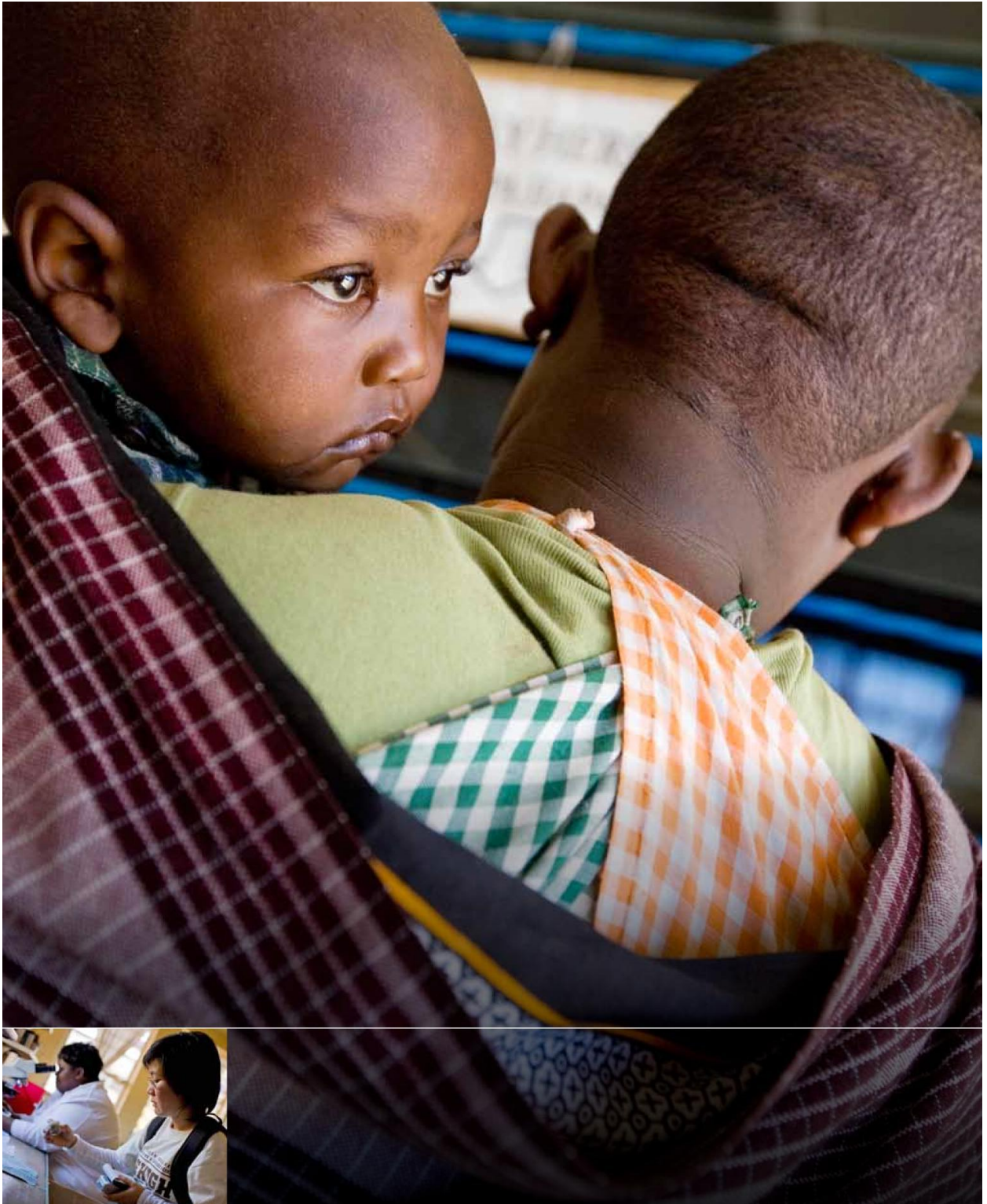
1. What motivated you to participate in or apply for this club/trip/activity?
2. What did you learn from this club/trip/activity that you believe was the most important or the most impactful? Were there any specific readings, experiences, or lectures which significantly influence your experience?
3. How do you define "development"?
 - a. How has your definition of the term "development" been altered by taking the course you listed above?
4. What characterizes a "developed country" as opposed to an "underdeveloped country?" Please provide one example of a developed country and one example of an underdeveloped country.
5. What is the purpose of development?
6. How is development achieved?
7. Do you believe that this club/trip/activity has a relationship to international development? In what way does this club/trip/activity engage in "international development?" and how does this help a community/individuals/country?
8. What do you believe is a university's role in international development?
9. What is your role as a student in international development?

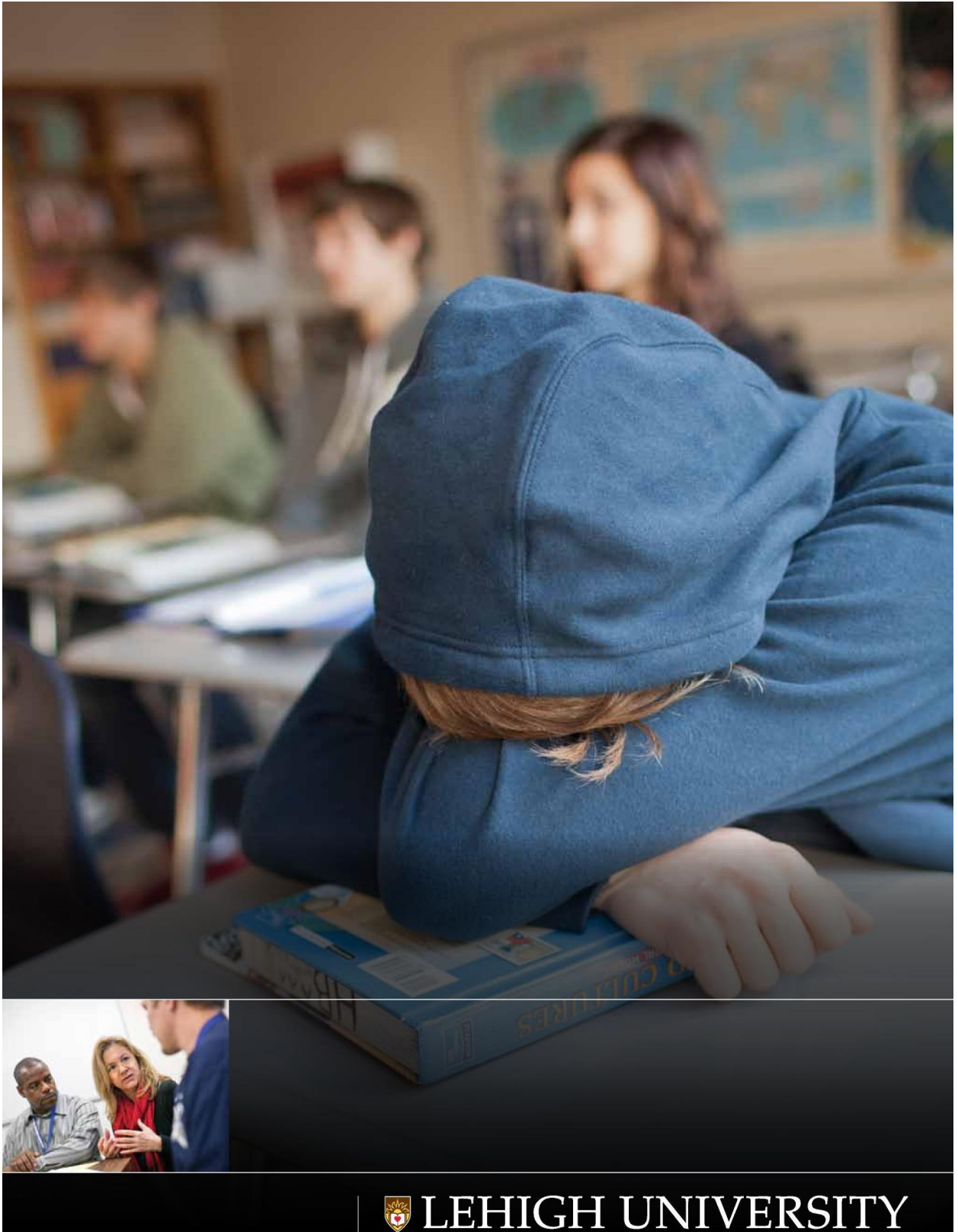
Appendix C: Lehigh Advertisements

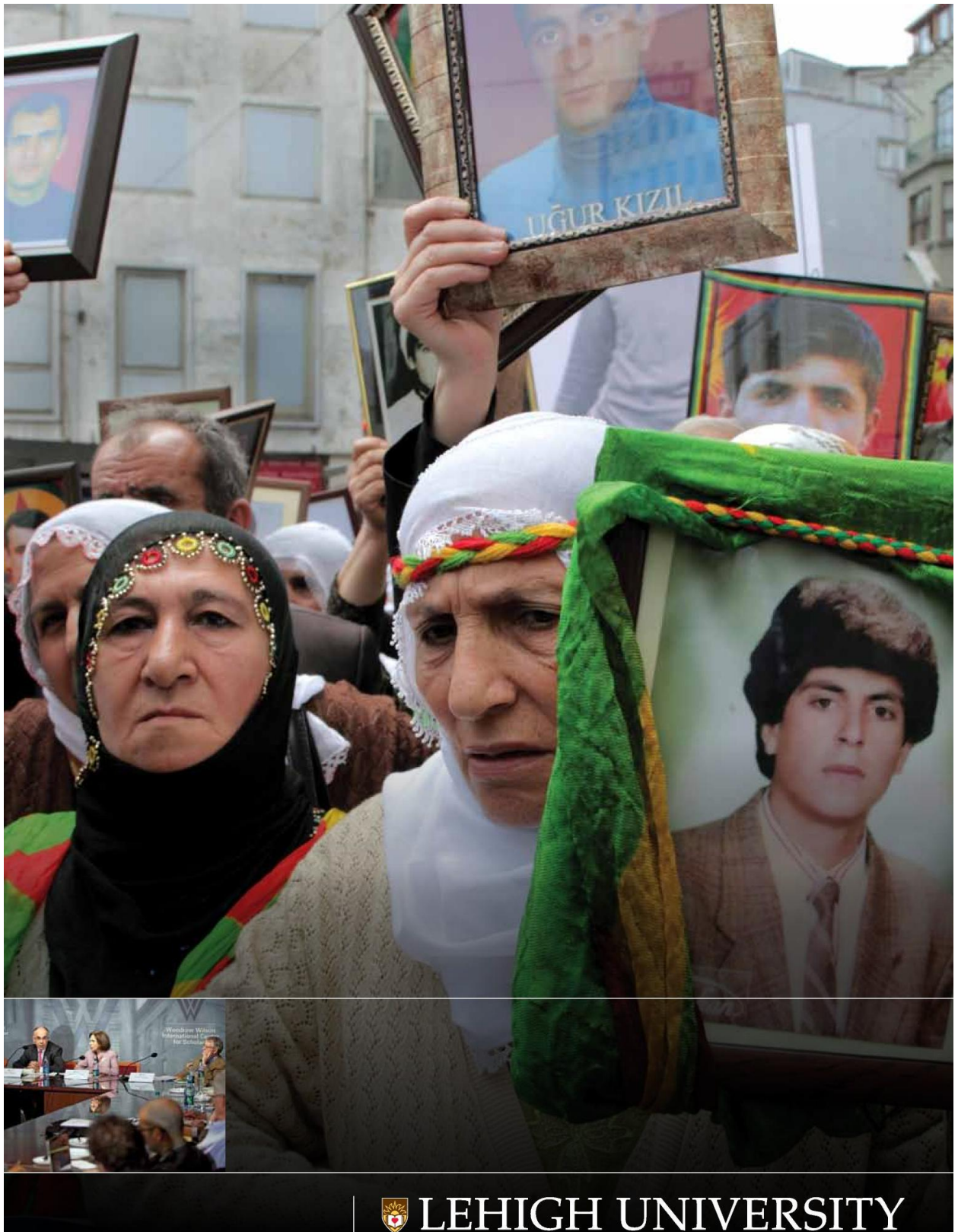




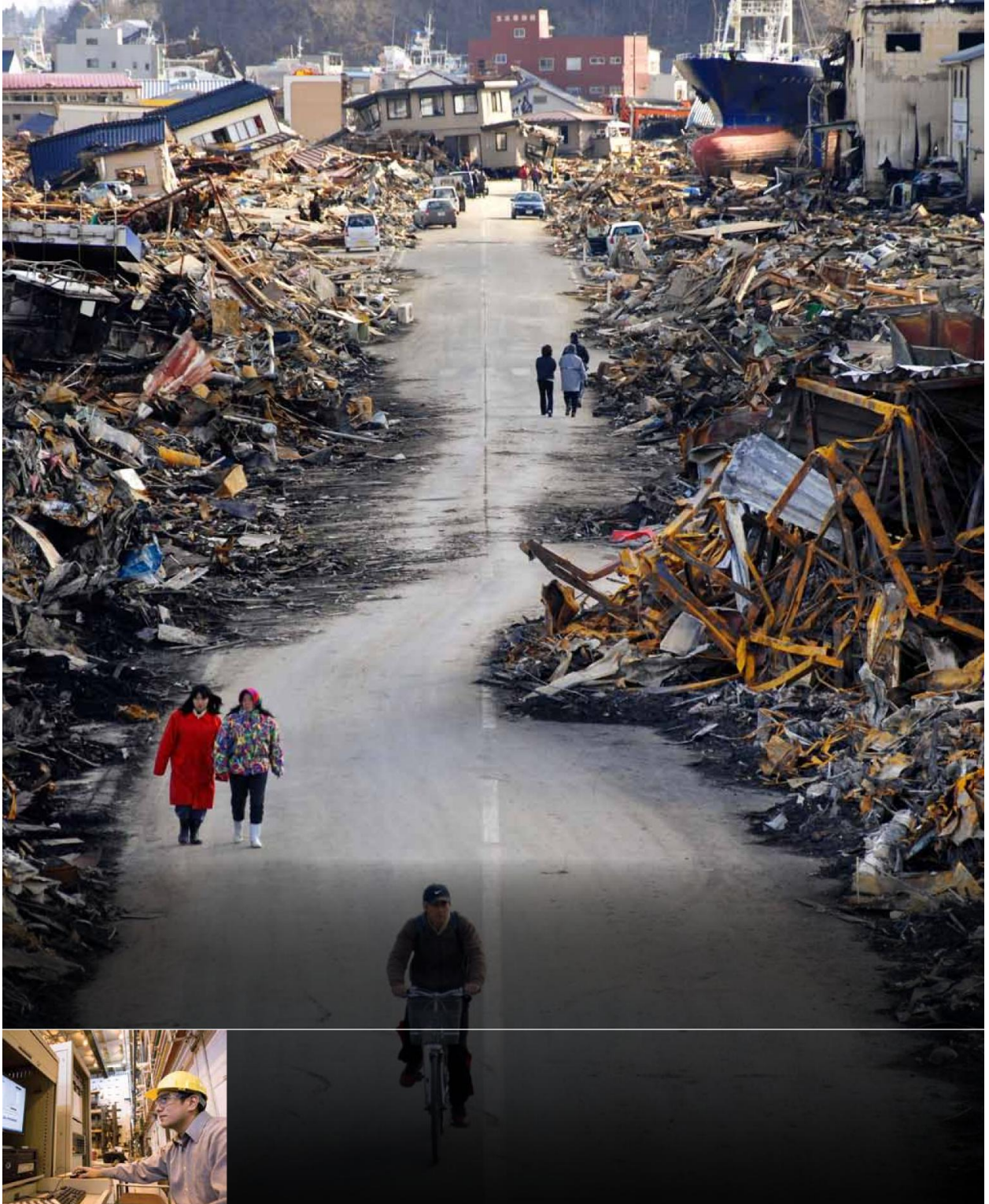
 LEHIGH UNIVERSITY







LEHIGH UNIVERSITY



 LEHIGH UNIVERSITY

You are invited to be in a research study about **your experience as a student of international development at Lehigh University**. Participants should be those students, undergraduate or graduate, who have been **enrolled or participated in a university program or course (curricular or extra-curricular) which targets international development studies or service learning**.

BENEFIT FOR PARTICIPANTS: a chance to express your opinions on the evolution of international development at Lehigh University and how the opportunities provided to you at Lehigh University in regards to international development was beneficial.

SEEKING PARTICIPANTS FOR GRADUATE RESEARCH STUDY

Participants receive a Starbucks gift card!!

Study Purpose: The purpose of this study is to better understand the role of universities in the professionalization and institutionalization of the field of international development. I am interested to see how your experience as a student at Lehigh University has contributed to your ideas about the field of international development.

Procedures: Schedule a time to meet and discuss your ideas about international development and your role as a student in the field of international development. This interview will take 30 minutes to 1 hour and will be audio recorded. Provide researcher with a copy of the syllabus and/or any other material relevant to the curricular or extra-curricular activity in which you participated.

VOLUNTARY AND CONFIDENTIAL

The information you provide in this study will be kept confidential. Your name will not be stored alongside any of the information you provide. Your name or identifying features will never be used in any reports or publications of this study's results. To protect your confidentiality, we will keep data for this study only on secure computer systems in locked offices

Please Contact:

Katey Fardelmann if you are interesting in participating. If you have questions later, **you are encouraged** to contact her at Lehigh University, 908-619-9058, kf211@lehigh.edu/kfardelmann@gmail.com

Bibliography

Katey L. Fardelmann:

In May 2012, Katey is completing a Master of Arts in Comparative and International Education, concentrating in International Relations and Political Science, at Lehigh University in Bethlehem, Pa. In December 2010, Katey graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Lehigh University with a Bachelor of Arts in International Relations and German as well as a minor in business. The following course work is relevant to this thesis work: International Security, International Law, International Political Economy, International Relations Theory, International Terrorism, United Nations, European International Relations, International Politics of Oil, Globalization and Contextualization, Experiencing UN: NGOs, Education, and Political Practice., Diversity and Multicultural Perspectives, Comparative and International Education, Globalization, Post-Colonialism, and Education, Social Entrepreneurship Practicum, and Non-profit Administration. Katey has worked as an international education consultant for several non-governmental organizations, Global Education Motivators, BigPictureSmallWorld, and Sustainable Empowerment through Agricultural Development, and as an UN Youth Representative. In 2010 Katey had worked published in *Designing a World that Works for All: How the Youth of the World are Creating Real-World Solutions for the UN MDGs*. In her years at Lehigh University Katey received the following awards: *Lehigh University President's Scholar Program Academic, All-Patriot League Team 2010, Woman's Field Hockey Patriot League Academic Honor Roll, National Society of Collegiate Scholars, NFHCA National Academic Squad, and Dean's List*.